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Editorial

Chinks in Opposition Armour

Tectic activities by Nitish Kumar, Chief Minister of Bihar, in forging an alliance of non-BJP political parties on a single platform to confront the BJP in the ensuing 2024 Lok Sabha elections and the ongoing Bharat Jodo Yatra embarked upon by Congress Party under the leadership of Congress MP Rahul Gandhi, covering a 3,570-km long route passing through 10 states, and the massive public response this Yatra has received in Tamil Nadu and now in Kerala, has raised hopes of a meaningful Opposition unity of non-BJP parties.

Undoubtedly, the efforts of Nitish Kumar have proved instrumental in eliciting positive responses from many regional satraps; nonetheless, the reluctant response from TMC, TRS and AAP entails the likelihood of proving chinks in Opposition unity armour in the coming days. Some regional satraps like TMC, Aap, TRS, Akali Dal, INLD, BSP, and others disapprove of any sort of political or electoral alliance with Congress or forging a united front against the ruling BJP under the very aegis of the Congress party.

Nevertheless, in the recently held Opposition meeting at Fatehabad in Haryana under the aegis of INLD to commemorate the birth anniversary of the late Deputy Prime Minister of India, Chaudhary Devi Lal, the Bihar Chief Minister had explicitly ruled out the possibility of a Third Front and asserted that there would be only One Front including Congress. The reluctance of TMC, TRS, and Aap to join hands with Congress is puzzling because of various reasons that are distinct in each case.

The TMC supremo is a former Congress leader and she nurtures the ambition of leading the Opposition at the national level. She had been a very vocal critic of the BJP government at the Centre and political machinations staged by the BJP unit of West Bengal during the course of the State Assembly elections. Besides, the raids by CBI and Enforcement Directorate on some TMC leaders recently also enraged the TMC supremo and she bitterly criticized the Modi Government. She had been a vocal supporter of Opposition unity sans Congress. However, recent days have witnessed seemingly a change in the tone and tenor of Mamata Didi. Her praise for the RSS and 'clean chit' to Prime Minister Modi, as reported in the media, has taken many Opposition leaders by surprise.

The TRS supremo KCR is also an ambitious leader who nurtures the hope of playing at the national level and he has been keenly looking for forging the Third Front sans Congress. Undoubtedly, KCR held a meeting with Nitish Kumar but he seems reluctant to accept Bihar CM as a prime ministerial candidate on behalf of the united Opposition. Similar is the case with AAP supremo Arvind Kejriwal who nurtures high political ambitions. AAP supremo's high political ambitions have led many founding members of the AAP to part company with him and prominent among those are Yogendra Yadav, Ashutosh, Prashant Bhushan and others.

Undeniably, TMC and TRS are currently the ruling parties in their respective states but they lack a pan-India presence. AAP is in power in Delhi and Punjab and entails minimal presence in a couple of other states and that does not make it a pan-India party. Besides, the high ambitions of the leaders of these regional satraps entail the potential of proving chinks in Opposition unity armour.

Another challenging issue is the pro-BJP inclination of the YSR Congress of Andhra Pradesh and BJD of Odisha, and both these parties have not been seen in recent years sharing any platform with the Opposition. In fact, Nitish Kumar has taken upon himself a herculean task of fostering Opposition unity to confront the BJP in the 2024 Lok Sabha poll.

Under the prevailing situation, much depends on the success of the Bharat Jodo Yatra of the Congress Party in the coming months, especially when this Yatra passes through Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, part of UP, Haryana and then to its destination in Srinagar. If Congress manages to muster a massive public response in these states like that of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, then it can help the party to capitalize on its Yatra to emerge electorally stronger and spur other regional satraps to shun their reluctance and join hands with it to offer a viable and strong alternative to the BJP.

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US Military Assistance to Ukraine

Dr. Anilkumar B. Halu*

Reports of Russia massing its troops along the Ukrainian border in early January this year spurred the US and its NATO allies to further extend military assistance to Ukraine. Accordingly, the policy discussion in Washington began to increasingly focus on what the US could do to help Ukraine defend its territory and in the third week of January, the Biden Administration approved the delivery of US-made Stringer shoulder-launched antiaircraft missiles to Ukraine, in addition to the upping provision of other military wherewithal.

While the month of January witnessed other US Allies, including the UK, also making plans to supply military assistance to Ukraine, there also ensued a debate on the pros and cons of assisting Ukraine militarily. Some made the case that the supply of US military assistance to Ukraine could prove instrumental in changing Russian calculus probably deterring Moscow from invading Ukraine while others claimed that the aid to the Ukrainian military could have a real impact on a possible fight with the Russians, making it meaningfully more challenging for Kremlin to achieve victory and ruling out certain military options Russia might be contemplating (Charap and Boston, 21 January 2022).

There also prevailed another viewpoint that called for enhancing Ukraine's additional capabilities merely to augment costs for Moscow in terms of inflicting heavy casualties on the Russian side to generate politico-strategic problems for President Putin at his home turf, albeit without much expectation that Kyiv would prevail. Arguing that none of these arguments was convincing, Charap and Boston (2022) noted that it didn't mean that military assistance was not an effective lever for tackling the crisis.

From 2014, in the aftermath of the Russian annexation of Crimea and invasion of the Donbas, to the closing part of 2021, Washington had provided over \$ 2.5 billion in military aid to Ukraine which included the provision of trainers, selective defensive systems like counter-mortar radars, Javelin anti-tank missiles, etc. Pointing out that the military balance between

Moscow and Kyiv was so lopsided in Russian favour, Charap and Boston (2022) opined that any assistance provided by Washington in ensuing weeks would be largely irrelevant to the outcome of a conflict should it begin, especially in view of Russia's advantages in capacity, capability and geography combine to pose intractable challenges for Ukrainian forces tasked with defending their territory.

Expediting Military Aid

In the aftermath of the Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the US embarked on an expeditious mission of providing military wherewithal to Ukraine, and on 16 March 2022, Biden Administration announced an additional \$800 million in security assistance to Ukraine in the form of direct transfer of equipment to the Ukrainian military to help them defend their country against Russian invasion. The security assistance package comprised Stinger anti-aircraft systems, anti-tank systems, tactical unarmed aerial systems, grenade launchers, rifles, machine guns, over 20 million rounds of arms munition, etc. (Whitehouse, 16 March 2022).

Another military aid package announced by Whitehouse on 21 April 2022 contained many similarities to the aid package of 16 March, and it expanded American support by including US weapons, training Ukrainians in the use of new systems along with two new items – an increase in the overall rate of support and a mysterious custom-designed aerial vehicle.

By September 2022, the United States has emerged as a leading provider of security assistance to Ukraine, and from 2014 through 24 August 2022, Washington has provided more than \$ 15.5 billion in security assistance to help Ukraine safeguard its territorial integrity, secure its borders, and improve interoperability with NATO (Arabia & Bower, 2022). In 2022, the Biden Administration has made available more advanced defence equipment to Ukraine as well as greater amounts of previously provided equipment.

The US security assistance committed to Ukraine as of 24 August 2022, inter alia, included the following: 8 National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile Systems; 16 High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems (HIMARS)

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and ammunition; 1,400+ Stinger anti-aircraft systems; 8,500+ Javelin anti-armour systems and 27,000+ other anti-armour systems; 700+ Phoenix Ghost Tactical UAS, 700+ Switchblade Tactical UAS, and other UAS; 126 155 mm and 16 105 mm Howitzers with more than 900,000 artillery rounds; 20 120 mm mortar systems and 85,000 mortar rounds; 1,500 Tube-Launched, Optically-Tracked, Wire-Guided (TOW) missiles, high-speed anti-radiation missiles, and laser-guided rocket systems; 20 Mi-17 helicopters; hundreds of Armoured Humvee Vehicles and 40 mine resistant vehicles; 200 M113 Armoured Personnel Carriers; 10,000+ grenade launchers and small arms; and communications and intelligence equipment (Arabia & Bower, 2022).

The Fallout of US Assistance

Ukraine has emerged as the largest recipient of US security assistance within a short span of seven months outstripping the US annual aid provided by the US to Israel or Egypt combined. Undoubtedly, Ukraine's right to self-defence, adopting a stance against an illegal war, and exacting a toll on Russia that could deter it from future hegemonic misadventures are seemingly sensible imperatives justifying US security assistance to Ukraine (Stohl and Yousif, 2022); nevertheless, the US and Western security assistance to Ukraine and the high morale of the Ukrainian forces have been instrumental in serving severe blows to the invading Russian forces and enabled the Ukrainian forces to recapture some of the occupied territories along with gaining an upper hand over the invading forces.

Admittedly, pondering over prudently and purposely about the risks entailing the supply of weapons to Ukraine ought to be an act of sound strategy and responsible foreign policy. While arguing that waiting until the conflict comes to an end to start this course of action could be too late, Stohl and Yousif (2022) state that inundating Ukraine with arms and equipment does not come risk-free, and while the ends may justify the means, there are a variety of national security and strategic consequences that are required to be taken into consideration by Washington in order to put safeguards in place to thwart measures permeating reoccurrence of such a scenario.

Unchecked arms buildup of sophisticated American weaponry in Ukraine entailing more advanced systems with their long ranges and at least technical ability to reach into Russian territory probably implies the likelihood of provoking Russia of blaming the US and West, at least rhetorically, of proxy participation in the

conflict, and the Russian propaganda machinery seems to be already engaged in this task. Western supply lines to Kyiv, especially the Ukrainian rail network, has already been targeted by Moscow, though with limited success. The geographic proximity of Ukraine's neighbouring countries, some of which are also members of NATO, are vulnerable to Russian attack or risk the spilling over of the ongoing conflict inside those countries thereby portending an ominous threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries along with enlargement of the conflict. Undeniably, the Biden Administration has insisted that possible risks have been carefully measured and Washington's support to Kyiv, while robust, does not tantamount to direct intervention by the US; nonetheless, Moscow is ill-prepared to subscribe to this version and has interpreted the prevalent situation differently.

But for the military-industrial proponents, war has never been a profitable enterprise either for the victor or the vanquished. However, the Ukraine conflict has highlighted the strategic significance of the superiority of the American weapons and the high morale of the Ukrainian forces has proved instrumental in serving severe blows to the Russian defences in terms of loss of lives and loss of weaponry, though Kyiv has also suffered immeasurable losses as well.

Russian operational losses from 24 February 2022 to the closing part of September 2022 include the following: Personnel over 57, 000; tanks 2290; armoured combat vehicles 4857; artillery systems 1369; multiple rocket launchers 330; anti-aircraft warfare systems 172; vehicle and fuel tanks 3711; aircraft 260; helicopters 224; UAV operational and tactical level 970; intercepted cruise missiles 241; and boats/ships 15 (CDS, 26 September 2022).

Way Forward

War has never been a profitable enterprise either for the victor or the vanquished and only the military-industrial complex profits from it by selling their weaponry. The ongoing Russian-Ukraine war has proved to be a testing laboratory of Russian and American weapons since the commencement of the exchange of armed hostilities. American weapon systems like HIMARS and other weapon systems supplied by the US to Ukraine have proved instrumental in serving severe blows to the Russian army in operational mode thereby proving the technological superiority of American weapon systems over the Russian weapons, and this entails the potential for the expansion of the market for American weapons.

Nevertheless, the pernicious consequences of this conflict have culminated in engendering spike in prices of energy and food grains along with disruptions in supply chains. Besides, both Russia and Ukraine have suffered

heavy losses in terms of military and civilian personnel and damage to property. An early solution to this conflict is in the larger interest of humankind and global peace and security.

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Nature in Whitman's Selected Poems

Ashwini L Gaddad*

alt Whitman is hailed as 'America's world poet and a latter-day successor to Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Shakespeare. Whitman in his magnum opus Leaves of Grass celebrated democracy, nature, love, and friendship, and his magnum opus transformed praises to the body as well as to the soul and discovered beauty and reassurance even in death. Regarded as one of America's most significant poets of the nineteenth century along with Emily Dickinson, Whitman is said to have influenced later many poets like Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, Allen Ginsberg, Simon Ortiz, C.K. Williams, and Martin Espada.

Leaves of Grass is said to be a sole book of Whitman's poetry, which he revised and expanded from time to time and the result was that the first edition of 12 poems finally became a thick book of close to 400 poems. There have been six editions of the Leaves of Grass, and as soon as one edition was published Whitman could brook no delay in revising, regrouping, and adding to the poems, treating the published book as a manuscript to be edited and republished, and the overall outcome of this practice is that "Whitman's poetry is seen always to flow from a single being; it is as unified and as singular as the man who made it" (Masel, 2019).

Multiple themes, symbols, and ideas are explored in Leaves of Grass; nevertheless, the one common characteristic that each of Whitman's poems reflects is the natural world in terms of the season. Landscapes, animals, plants flowers, or grass. The pivotal reason for spurring Whitman's celebration of the natural world is rooted in his belief that human beings were already a part of nature and they would continue their onward journey with nature even after death. This idea is amply

mirrored in Whitman's two poems – Song of Myself and When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd – and the idea of grass is explored in Song of Myself whereas When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd alluded to flowers specifically lilacs.

While different components of nature are explored in these two poems, Whitman skillfully weaves the cycle of life and death, hope and faith, and rebirth. Nature's dynamics gets reflected in Whitman's method of composing his poems, and Whitman's method of writing is like grass and trees, and initially, it may not always be easy to prepare or be the nicest to stare at but once I is comprehended, it is as sharp as a blade of grass or shines just as a flower does when the sun reflects off of it. Robert Atwan (1990: 18) while describing what Whitman's book looked like, notes: "...albot Wilson, possibly the most valuable notebook in American literary history...is now the official title of the little book Whitman kept during the years that Song of Myself was struggling to born...A cheap-green notebook...with ruled columns, it was locked by means of a pencil inserted through three homemade leather loops. Pages have been ripped out, much is casually crossed out...he seems to have rarely used an eraser."

While discussing how Whitman articulated Emerson's idea of America requiring a Shakespeare by publishing Leaves of Grass, Harold Bloom (1994:265) wrote that Shakespeare centered the Western Canon because he changed cognition by changing the representation of cognition, and Whitman centered the American canon because "he changes the American self and the American religion by changing the representation of our unofficial selves." Furthermore, while referring to Whitman as the 'Center of the American Canon', Bloom claimed that no Western poet in the past century and a half, not even

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Browning or Leopardi, or Baudelaire overshadowed Walt Whitman or Emily Dickinson (Bloom, 1994: 245).

In Leaves of Grass, Whitman uses nature as a metaphor to demonstrate how it serves a universal purpose and grass epitomizes the depiction of how nature is not only universal but it is ubiquitous in diverse environments throughout the year. "[T]he grass that grows wherever the land is and the water is" (Whitman, 2013: Line 359) was generally available round the year without having to rely on a tree or fence to grow, and Whitman's ubiquitous purpose of nature is to link not only the human living self but the dead as well. He attains this by allocating the dead a purpose and describing how they help nature when he says: "And now it seems to me the beautiful uncut hair of graves" (Whitman, 2013: Line 101). Whitman's allusion to grass and all the likelihood as to what grass can be and how grass can be the hair of those who are buried in the grave is perhaps reflected in when he says: "And as to you Corpse I think you are good manure" (Whitman, 2013: Line 1285). Here Whitman perhaps opines that a corpse can be useful as a fertilizer nourishing the healthy growth of grass and flowers.

It has been observed that given Whitman's philosophical ideas "his [bold approach] is neither so egotistical nor so eccentric as it might seem... Whitman announces the motifs that will appear throughout, the air and the grass, and the celebration of the body, the human voice, the natural world, and the city" (Trecker, 2011:1). Thus, a new way of looking at grass and how one element of nature can be powerful is presented by Whitman's ecocritical approach, and for Whitman grass plays a significant role in the cycle of life and death persistently. Frequent references to grass or flowers, death versus life, the physical body, and embracing natural landscapes do occur in many of Whitman's poems.

Articulation of the essentiality for individuals to feel at one with nature is cogently presented in Song of Myself, and one of the prime ideas discussed by Whitman in this poem is how human beings are out of touch with nature when it is the one constant they possess in their lives. It is perhaps in this backdrop that Whitman is celebrating the idea of being a part of nature and pursuing his journey with nature after death. He is neither afraid of death nor even death itself because he questions nature and the dead while relating them to the physical world. This is evident from Whitman when he writes in section six of Song of Myself:

A child said What is the grass? fetching it to me with full hands; How could I answer the child? I do not know what it is any more than he. I guess it must be the flag of my disposition, out of hopeful green stuff woven. Or I guess it is the handkerchief of the Lord (Whitman, 2013: Lines 90-93).

Undoubtedly, the sixth section of Song of Myself is replete with the description of grass; nonetheless, it is also bout Whitman endeavouring to figure out its purpose. Whitman has no answer to the child's query about what the grass is; however, he does possess a number of possibilities regarding the grass could be a symbol or representation of hope because the green colour symbolizes hope, and concomitantly, the grass is used by Whitman as a metaphor, comparing it to "the beautiful uncut hair of graves" (Whitman, 2013: Line 101). Explaining how the shape of a single blade of the grass plays a significant role, Diane Kepner (1979: 199) writes: "Combined with the property of smell (and with the way [grass] bends into a 'J' or 'C' shape), it shows that it could have been" used as God's handkerchief, and Kepner goes further to explain how grass can bend into the shape of a 'J' and a 'C' which represents Jesus Christ, and this explanation denotes how one simple element like grass, emphasizes more than something that is a part of nature.

Whitman's poetry amply demonstrates that each moment shared with nature and the spirit is new and he is continuously introducing new ideas and notions throughout his poems eventually they all get juxtaposed not only in each individual poem but throughout the Leaves of Grass too and this allows Whitman to see "a unity in the universe that reveals itself in every particular object at every instant in time" (Kepner, 1979: 197). Nature's connection with the cycle of life and death is well portrayed in Leaves of Grass and Whitman makes it continuous through his use of "hopeful green stuff woven" (Whitman, 2013: Line 101), like spears of grass and flowers, particularly in Song of Myself and When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd.

Whitman fully subscribes to the central Emersonian belief of the unity of nature, and he articulates this belief in such poems as On the Beach at Night Alone, Kosmos, or Starting from Paumanok, and more often it is an unstated assumption. Taking for granted an underlying unity, wherein the individual parts of its catalogues mingle and blend, much like the different parts of a successful photo montage, Whitman engenders a unified impression. According to Doudna (1998), "Whitman sees nature as beneficent, a sharp contrast to the malevolent nature depicted by such contemporaries as Henry Adams in his Education and John Stuart Mill in his essay Nature or the morally indifferent nature of Herbert Spencer and the Social Darwinists. Whitman expresses this view of nature most explicitly in A song for Occupations, and most succinctly in Songs of the Universal."

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Human Rights, Peace, Development & the UN

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[Practically, protection of human rights and establishment of peace have been understood as the intrinsic part of human life without which progress and development is not possible in any society. Progress and development of a nation, region or world at large, depends highly on the different forms of rights people enjoy and conditions of peace prevails in various dimensions of human life. Currently, international environment faces multiple folds of challenges which not only endanger the rights humans enjoy but also uproot the basic conditions for peace. Nevertheless, the United Nations as a lonely international organization has played a very constructive role in the protection of human rights and the establishment of international peace and security. Thus, this paper attempts to explore the relationship between human rights and peace while examining the role of the United Nations in safeguarding both from multidimensional aspects.]

Practically, Human Rights and Peace have been considered as the basic necessity to be achieved in international politics for the development of harmonious and peaceful global environment. Protection of human rights and establishment of peace have been understood as the basic intrinsic part of human life without which progress and development is not possible in any society. In fact, both human rights and peace are interdependent to each other and can't be achieved without the other one. Human rights abuses are an inevitable causality for peace (Bhatt, 2003: 215).

Therefore, peace can only exist if there is a human right, and simultaneously human rights can only exist if there is a feeling of peace (Marks, 1980: 341). Progress and development of a nation, region, or world at large, depends highly on the different forms of rights people enjoy and conditions of peace prevail in various dimensions of human life. In fact, securing human rights is essential for peace and human happiness (Blau and Moncada, 2016: 4).

Noticeably, security threats, both traditional and non-traditional, pose greater challenges to different levels of human life, beginning with individual and going to international level while engulfing, society, nation-state,

region in multiple forms. Nevertheless, the United Nations as the lonely international organization, aimed at safeguarding human rights and establishing international peace and, functions continuously in these basic objectives.

Many declarations, and actions of sub-organisations of the United Nations established milestone in achieving these objectives from the day of its inceptions on the debris of League of Nations. Thus, this paper attempts to explore the relationship between human rights and peace while examining the role of the United Nations in safeguarding both human rights and peace in the present crisis-ridden world.

Human Rights and Peace

Conceptually, human rights have been the most deliberated issue in the academic field. Arguably, "human rights are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being" (Sepuldeva, et al, 2004: 3). According to Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR): "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (UDHR, 1948: 1).

Significantly, the major constituents of human rights are the right to freedom of religion, the right to a fair trial

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charged with a crime, the right not to be tortured, and the right to engage in political activity (Goyal, 2005: 5). Human rights are those basic standards without which people cannot be in dignity (Talwar, 2006: v). Similarly, "to violate someone's human rights is to treat that person as though she or he were not a human being. To advocate human rights is to demand that the human dignity of all people be respected" (Flowers, 1998).

More importantly, "the aspiration to protect the human dignity of all human beings is at the core of the human rights concept. It puts the human in the center of concern", (Benedek and Nikolova 2012: 28). Additionally, "Human rights are an important instrument for protecting human beings against cruelty, oppression and degradation" (Gutmann, 2003: xi).

Practically, "human rights are standards that allow all people to live with dignity, freedom, equality, justice and peace" (Gitte, 2019: 16). Consequently, "peace and human rights are related to each other seems to be generally accepted" (Schachter, 1988: 65). Foundation of peace is the existence of non-discriminatory, non-exploitative and non-violent social order based on human dignity, social harmony and development for all. There can be no lasting peace or sustainable development in any society, or country without respect for the fundamental human rights of its citizens (Symonides, 2019: 1).

Jim Ife, a human rights and peace scholar stated that "Peace without human rights would be a weak and flawed peace. People cannot be said to be living in peace if their human rights are violated, as the structural and institutional violence inherent in human rights abuse is the antithesis of peace" (Ife, 2007: 160). Therefore, "human rights are a prerequisite of peace" (Dimitrijevic, 1998).

Additionally, war by itself is a violation of human rights, which creates human rights abuses from restriction to denial of civil liberties, to torture, sexual violence, disappearance, displacement, destruction, misery, and many other forms of violations (Symonides, 2019: 1). In this context, Jim Ife stated: "War and human rights violations belong together, and in the same way their opposites - human rights and peace - also belong together, and neither can be achieved without the other. To work for one involves also working for the other, and the two are necessarily connected" (Ife, 2007: 160).

Significantly, peace is indispensable to the full realization of human rights. Peace is the "prerequisite conditions for any society, culture, economy and state to prosper and flourish" (Ahanger, 2018). Importantly, "the right to peace is among the most basic human rights; but that this must be a right to positive peace: the right to protection from war but also from structural violence-for individuals, groups, tribes, social classes, and generations to come" (Bay, 1979: 160).

Broadly, peace is a more than just the absence of war and direct violence; that is called negative peace. Johan Galtung, the principal founder of the discipline of peace studies, describes positive peace as "cooperation, development, pluralism, dynamism, justice, freedom" (Galtung, 1975: 226). Similarly, as explained by Institute for Economics and Peace, positive peace is based on eight pillars: acceptance of the rights of others, well-functioning government, equitable distribution of resources, sound business environment, good relations with neighbours, high-level education, free flow of information, and low levels of corruption (IEP, 2013: 1-2).

In this context, Ellen Birkett Lindeen, a scholar of human rights and peace studies, stated: "to work for a sustainable peace, people must focus on factors to generate positive peace, rather than simply on ways to avoid violence" (Lindeen, 2019). In addition, Graham Kemp, a scholar of peace science, stated: "A peaceful society is a society that has orientated its culture and cultural development toward peacefulness. It has developed ideas, mores, value systems, and cultural institutions that minimize violence and promote peace - a cultural technology of peace" (Kemp, 2004: 8).

With the brief conceptual underpinning of both human rights and peace, it can be argued that the development of human being depends on the conditions of human rights and the peace society preserves. In fact, both are essential components of human existence and development. Thus, it can be stated that both human rights and peace are the two basic conditions of human development. The protection of human rights and preservation of international peace and security becomes fundamental duties of international organization like the United Nations. Therefore, the following section has brought out an analysis on various major activities taken by the United Nations in order to achieve both.

UN and Promotion of Human Rights and Peace

Tragically, the multidimensional devastating effects of lives and properties in World War I and II, in the first half of the twentieth century had brought the World community together to rethink about the conduct of international relations in order to escape the repetition for the same in future. In fact, an estimated 14 million civilians and soldiers were killed and countless others were wounded from the occupation, bombardment, hunger, or diseases in the First World War (Gilbert, 1994). Similarly, millions of people died, were wounded, and experienced horrifying and traumatic conditions in the Second World War, particularly after the dropping of nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. These destructive incidents brought the world community together to take action for the protection of human life and the maintenance of international peace and security.

Thus, United Nations created for these very objectives. Broadly, with the establishment in the year 1945, the United Nations aimed at safeguarding international peace and security. Also, the aim of the organization is "solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (Charter of the United Nation, 1945).

The United Nations established a Commission of Human Rights in 1946, which was replaced on 15 March 2006 with a new and potentially strong, United Nations Human Rights Council. This brought an end to the Commission of Human Rights which lasted 60 years (Ghanea, 2006: 695). The initial work of the Commission was drafting the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)" on 10 December 1948, a concise yet comprehensive list of human rights.

Further, Article 1 of the UDHR pointed out that: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" (UDHR, 1948: 1). Significantly, the UDHR document "gave human rights a permanent place on international agendas and provided the foundational norms of the global human rights regime" (Donnelly, 2014: 362).

The main purpose of the replacement of the Commission of Human Rights: "it fell far short of achieving its desired objectives and was unable to satisfy the international community regarding its work for the promotion and protection of human rights" (Sarwar, 2007: 131). The principal purpose of the establishment of the United Nations Human Rights Council is "to avoid the shortcomings of the UNCHR and to improve the standards and levels of UN human rights mechanisms across the world" (Ibid: 127).

The Human Rights Council created a system of universal periodic review. Because there viewers are states rather than independent experts, though, the typical review is superficial.

More importantly, the correlations between human rights and peace was recognized by the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948, which declares the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" (UDHR, 1948: 1). Additionally, Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations documented the relationship between human rights and peace that: "with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among

nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" (Charter of the United Nations, 1945: 11).

Ban Ki-Moon, the former United Nations Secretary-General stated on Human Rights Day, 10 December 2010, that "Human rights are the foundation of freedom, peace, development and justice – and the heart of the work of the United Nations around the world" (UNSG, 2010). Similarly, Antonio Guterres, stated that "upholding human rights is a crucial element of (conflict) prevention" and "human rights are intrinsically linked to sustaining peace" (Connolly and Athie, 2017). Therefore, it is a necessary condition for the overall development of human being, as stated by Miroslav Lajcak, the President of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), that "We made it very clear you cannot speak about peace in separation from development and from human rights" (The Quint, 2018).

Conclusion

In brief, one can make an argument that human rights and peace are closely linked to each other. In fact, objectives of human development can never be achieved without providing good conditions for human rights and peace. The United Nations as the only universal has been playing a very crucial role as anchor as well as facilitator of human rights and peace which in turn becomes instrumental in creating a conducive environment for the overall development of a peaceful, prosperous and healthy world community.

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Maung Phan custom among Tikhaks of Arunachal Pradesh

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[Tangsa is one of the important major tribesof Arunachal Pradesh inhabiting the eastern part of the state with more than 17 sub-tribes. Thetribehas different dialect spoken widely by the different people of this ethnic community. However, their origin and socio-cultural practices are similar to one another as they traced their migratory route through a common route of Myanmar. Among them, Tikhakis one of the sub-tribes who have reached first to this part of the region during the 13th century. The community is full of interesting customs and practices which they brought along during the course of their social movement. A rich history of their origin and migration can be known through some of the limited sources available to us. It is due to the absence of their script that the written literature is negligible compared to other tribes of the state. However, an earnest attempt has been made through this paper to unearth interesting facts of the tradition of naming the issues born to the parents. The children born to the parents are named following the traditional pattern. The Tikhak community follows a naming pattern that has been passed down to them through various generations for the boy and the girl child separately. This work will let the readers know about such practice which is being followed by the community for generations together.]

runachal Pradesh, popularly known as the 'Land of Rising Sun' is the home of 26 major ethnic communities with more than 100 sub-tribes spread across the state. The state shares an international boundary with China in the north and north-east (1,080 Kms), Myanmar in the east (440 Kms), and Bhutan in the west (160 kms). It stretches from snow-capped mountains in the north to the plains of Brahmaputra valley in the south. Between this magnificent landscapes, Tangsa tribe inhabits easternmost corner of Arunachal Pradesh located in the border areas of Myanmar. They are settled in Changlang District of Arunachal Pradesh. Historically, the present area of Changlang District was then referred as part and parcel of Lauhitya Pradesh, mentioned as Sri Lohitin the Taishan chronicles. 1 The history of the Tangsa tribe narrates their descent from the land of Masui Singrapum, somewhere in the land of Mongolia.² Oral historical literature of the Tangsas, the Ahom Buranjis and the British records suggest that they have migrated to this part of the state in 1200 CE.³ In most of the cases, a similarity can be found between various sub-tribes of the tribe in terms of food habits, dress and ornaments, rituals and other indigenous ceremonies.

Among these sub-tribes, Tikhak community occupy an important position as they are believed to be the earliest migrant among the Tangsas to this part of India. Even the Ahoms under King Sukapha with his people is said to have crossed Naga villages on their wayward journey into India through the Nongyang Lake, which means a 'sticky pond' in Tai Khamti dialect. These Naga villages are believed to have been inhabited by the Tangsas, the Tutsas, the Noctes and the Tutsa clans of India. These

include the Tikhak, the Nokja-Thamlais, the Yongkuk, the Tai-Phake or Phakials and so on. Thus, the Tikhaks, the Nokja-Thamlais, and the Yongkuk are the earliest migrant to the Patkai hills.⁴

The word 'Tikhak' carries different meanings, some of which have been found recently. As per the oral historical source, it is the word that was adopted from the stream where the people of this community stayed for a short period on their westward migration from South West China during the 11th C.⁵ Another oral source suggests that the word 'Tikhak' has originated from *Tai Khang*, meaning one who stays in one place and does not wander around in search of any suitable land.⁶

However, this terminology has not been widely accepted by the elders of the community because they believe the Tikhak people have wandered around numerous places in search of suitable land and finally reached to this present location. Moreover, it has been found that the word T'kak was first used by S.E. Peal, 1879 in his diary "Explorations of trade- routes from Assam in the direction of Burma and Eastern China and Mr. S.E. Peal's visit to the Nongyang Lake across the Patkai range". Peal mentioned that he was given warm hospitality in a Naga village called T'kak, on a spur of Sonkap Bum. It appears to have been a distorted form of the word 'Tikhak' but it provides us ample scope to understand the word that was in use during those times.

Migratory route

In North Myanmar, the Ahoms and the Hawa tribes established a kingdom called *Mok-Ne-Langlom*, within the kingdom of Mungri-Mungrang. But this kingdom was the prey of frequent Burmese attacks which led to its decline 1200 A.D. Thus, the Ahoms under the leadership of King Sukapha left for Kamrupa, India in 1228 A.D. This said that the Tikhak people followed their footsteps

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and came to India around 13th century. In traditional terms, the event is known as *Monun Khong*.

The following batches of the people came down through the Patkai hills and settled down at various locations. Among them, the Kotos were the first group who set their foot into the soil of India. They had a rich culture with high intellect. They had fought several battles with the Burmese in the Shan State of Burma. The first place where they reached was at *TanpuChup* (Dibrugarh in Assam). Since this place was infected by Malaria and Black fever, they could not live in the place for a longer period. Thus, they had to move to the upper region where they happen to meet the second group of people. In the present times, only one family of Koto is surviving at the Nampong administrative circle of the Changlang District.⁸

The Tikhaks were the second group who entered Assam through the Pangsau pass of the Patkai range overcoming various hardships. The group consisted of mostly male members. They could continue their journey up to *Tanpu Chup* (Dibrugarh). It is said that they met Morans and Muttocks on their way who were culturally different from them. They had to stop their adventure and conquests further due to the presence of the *Monun* (Tai Ahom) that were stronger in terms of military power. Therefore, on their way back, both the Tikhaks and the Kotos lived together for many generations.

On their eastward journey, they found the Singphos in between Digboi to Makum in Assam. They lived together at Ledo Township for many years after which they got separated into two groups. One group ascended the hilly area to establish the villages like *Rangrin Kan* (in between Ledo and Tikhak Colliery, Assam), Khuchep, and Changlang. Another group stayed back at Ledo who had established the villages like Longlai, and Long Basti. 9

Yongkuk were the third group who emerged at *Monun-Khong* somewhere in 1500 A.D. Yongkuk means the upstream or the source of the river. They crossed Pangsau Pass in large numbers to the present Tirap Transferred area of Assam. During that time, Tikhaks had already occupied Ledo. Thus, they settled down in between the river Namchik and river Tirap of present Tirap Gate, Assam.

At present, the population of Yongkuk is very small, but larger than Koto. Their villages are mostly located in the Tinsukia district of Assam and a few Yongkuk have retained Gaon Buraship in the villages namely, Kengya and Lakla villages of Assam. A lone Yongkuk family is looking after these villages as other natives belong to different communities.

The Lungchang arrived as the fourth group at the present Changlang area after crossing the Patkai range at Pingyang. Co-incidentally they met the Tikhaks who have ascended from Ledo following the upstream of Tirap rivulets when they were in search of suitable land to settle down. In due course of their stay, they came to know each other being of the same origin. Thus, it became easier for them to live together. Both of them had established *Changlang Changkan* which is the current headquarter of the Changlang District. The *Changlang Changkan* is closely attached to the hearts of the Tikhak community. Romantic, mournful, and classical songs were composed in this place. The most popular couplet of the Tikhak people depicting their attachment to *Changlang Changkan* is as follows;

Changlang Changkan, Tong Nung HeiHei, Tungsu Hei Phang, Cha Nung Hei Hei. Please stay back here at Changlang Changkan, I will roast Tung (arum), do have it with us.

These particular names of *Changlang (Chang:* a plant used for fish poisoning, *lang:* to lop) and *Chang kan (kan:* mountain) were coined by the Tikhaks.¹⁰

However, both Tikhak and Lungchang could not live together for more years as the idea of supremacy divided them into two different minds. Thus, the Tikhak people went eastward and settled down in the Manmao area adjacent to Changlang headquarters whereas the Lungchang stayed back at Changlang. That's why the Lungchang would call Tikhak people as *Sakhong Lungchang* (Eastern Lungchang). The Lungchang people have more numbers of accomplished persons in different fields when compared to the Tikhak community. Moreover, they have preserved their original traditions and culture with a firm belief in the indigenous faith of *Rangfraism* and a marginal follower of Theravada Buddhism.

The Kenjung Tikhak (*Keng*: village, *Jung*: large) were the last batch to migrate to India. They had ethnic differences from the Kachins of Hukawng Valley. In course of their migration, they came across their people who were already settled at the Manmao areas of Changlang District. The conflict with the Kachins did not end even after they had shifted to India. Instead of fighting the Kachins jointly, the older group remained neutral due to the conflict over leadership. The older group was of the people of Kamlao areas.

Thus, the Kenjung Tikhak came up to Nampong areas lying near to the Myanmar border where they established the biggest ever village of the people at Machum area that comprised of several hundred houses. However, the people could not live peacefully at the Machum area due to the spread of highly contagious smallpox, locally known as *Mak*. Thus, they ran for their lives and eventually reorganized themselves into different villages like *Rima*, *Matongsa*, *Tikhak Putok*, *Longchong*, *Wintong*, *Khamlang*, ¹¹ and many more in the peripheries of the Patkai range. Most of these villages have grown manifold in terms of its population and human resources.

No Khoi (Childbirth)

Every parent celebrates the birth of a child, particularly the birth of a male child. It doesn't mean that the birth of a girl child is not rejoiced upon by the parent. It is so because the parents feel that the son would carry forward the lineage of the family tree. In the olden days, the concept of having male child was meant to increase workforce in the family and to provide security from invading danger. In due course of time, this idea has been substituted to securing from continuity of family lineage, with less stress for the labour force that has become insignificant.

In the rural areas, elderly experienced women took up the responsibility of delivering a child to the expecting mother. She would be assisted by some of her aged women who were used to performing such tasks. Every care was taken in the traditional method of delivering a baby. This delivery was usually done in the last compartment of the traditional house identified as the labour room. A crude and traditional method was followed in the whole process of delivering a baby. The expecting mother would lie down on the floor using *Wakkhung* (high pillow) with her hands tied to the upper side of the bed.

An elderly woman would ask to put more pressure during labour pain. As soon as the delivery is done, the umbilical cord would be separated with bamboo blade. *Nopung* (waste placenta) of the baby would be wrapped in *Nyapmi* (*ko* leaves) and let to decompose on its own in tri-forked stick placed outside the house. To keep away evil spirits from harming a baby, *lakong* (small bow and arrow) was attached to the waste placenta. Water stored in bamboo tube was used to clean the baby and this tube was preserved to keep it away from illness.¹²

The mother would be provided with hot rice beer to make her feel energetic. However, in case of critical conditions of both the mother and the baby, customary sacrifices in the form of pigs, eggs, hens, chicks, dogs, etc. were done to cure the ailing person. It was usually done with the belief that evil spirits would leave the ailing person once it was offered with this sacrifice.

The third day would let both mother and the baby to come out of the house. An indigenous ceremony *No nachot* (piercing of pinna) in presence of the family members and relatives would be observed with suitable naming of the baby on the spot. Elders and relatives would be invited to give blessings to the baby. Along with this, a feast on behalf of the new-born baby would be served to the invited guests by the family. In this way, a suitable name is suggested by near and distant relatives of the baby. But in this naming process, the prefix or suffix are always constant which is separate for boy and girl child.

This practice is unique in community life as it has been transcended down to the present generations from the previous generations. Even if the prefix or suffix is not used in the name, but the children would be identified with this indigenous name which are as follows;

Table No.1:1: Nomenclature of the name used separately for the boy and the girl child.

Number of issues	Boy	Girl	
First child	Kam	Ко	
Second child	Nong	Lu	
Third child	La	Roi	
Fourth child	Tu	Thu	
Fifth child	Tang	Nang	
Sixth child	Yong	Kai	

In the above Table No.1:1, a separate prefix or suffix for boy and girl child can be seen in use which is fixed for different offspring in the family. Even if the child does not have such prefix or suffix in his/her name, then also they would be addressed with given above terms in place of original names. ¹³ It can be seen that the number of issues has been confined to six, whereas it used to go beyond this limit in some of the large families where usually men marry more than one wife. Polygamy was necessity in the case of infertility of wife, insanity of wife and want of male child for the parent.

On the ninth day, both the mother and baby come out of the house in bright light. However, this rule is not applicable in the case of a baby born in the hospital or outside the parent's house. In any case of delivery, be it at hospital or own house, the procedure of naming the child is not altered at any cost. With this prefix or suffix in use, one can easily know a number of the children in the particular family.

Relevance

The practice of naming the child is unique in itself as it cannot be seen in other tribes of the state, except among the Singpho tribe who is living as neighbours to the Tikhak tribe, does follow their system of giving names to the children. It becomes very important in community life because such prefixes or suffixes used along with the names specify the number of children born to a particular parent. In the olden times, the more the number of children, the better it was felt for the family as it provided them with a workforce and a sense of security from danger.

However, in the present times, most parents prefer to maintain a nuclear family in order to enable a good education and resources for their children. Moreover, various government initiatives to control birth rates have forced people to restrict their families to the minimum strength. Moreover, due to economic constraints also, some conscious parents adopt family planning as per their convenience at an early age. In spite of an increase

in the number of family members, there is an overall decline in the population of the tribe in the present times.

During the preliminary survey of this study, many respondents expressed their will to maintain a nuclear family in view of economic compulsions and to provide better education to their children. In fact, the economic burden that one has to bear is the most accepted version behind adopting family planning in the rural areas.

Moreover, after having adopted various forms of religious practices by the people, there has been continuity of this traditional naming process. In any case, prefixes or suffixes to names are not changed, and they remain the same. In this way, it can be understood that this tribe has continued with the age-old custom of naming the children born to the parent. In spite of many changes happening around the societal environment, the community has preserved their original traditions. It is with this hope that such practice would be transcended down to the younger generations to carry forward and continue to give a new lease of life to the age-old custom.

Conclusion

To summarise, the Tikhak tribe has its indigenous system of naming the child born to the parents for the ages together. The process of naming the issues is separate for boy and girl child that does not get changed with the prefix or suffix used to the name. However, this practice has experienced a few changes in terms of adopting non-local names mostly Western names due to outside influence. This can be due to the influence of modern lifestyle and education which has exposed newer generations to the world outside. In spite of this development, a traditional society is still on with the continuity of the indigenous naming pattern. This trend of customary practice can face survival provided the younger generation lives up to the expectations of fighting against its decay.

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Dalit Movement in India- Problems and Prospects

Bondita Borbora* & Deepan Das**

[The history of Indian society attests to social cleavages along caste, class, and gender lines. These cleavages have altered the social fabric of Indian society, with the exploited class, whether Dalits, Adivasis, or women, being scientifically driven to the margins through the conventional Brahmanical oppressive structure. Dalits are people who have been exploited economically, socially, and politically for centuries. Incapable of surviving in human society, they have lived outside the community, depending on their occupation level. They have lived as untouchables—the purpose of this study is to elaborate on the history the of Dalit Movement in India. This research paper focuses on the problems that Dalits face in India and their prospects.]

he Dalit movement began to respond to the Dalits' hardship in Indian society. For decades, the higher castes have mercilessly exploited and inhumanly subjugated Dalits. Because of the dominance of the Brahmin culture, they have been isolated, fractured, and oppressed. The Dalit spirit of liberty, equality, and social justice was emphasised by the new polity, the postmodern administrative framework, the sound judicial system, current land tenure & taxation systems, contemporary trade patterns, the liberal educational system, and the communications network. The Dalit movement is dedicated to advancing Dalits' rights and benefits.

According to Ruman Sutradhar (2014), the Dalit Movement is a social revolution aimed at social transformation, eclipsing earlier Dalit movements in India's hierarchical Indian culture and founded on democratic principles of liberty, equality, and social justice. He also illustrates how centuries of social marginalization, economic misery, and political exploitation forced the Dalits to overcome such ageold biases. As a result, they began protesting through literature and forming organizations such as the Dalit Panthers, and this protest movement became known as the Dalit Movement.

Postmodern scholars, sociologists, and academicians have focused on the Dalit movement, one of India's most significant social movements. Diverse Dalit leaders have galvanized and inspired the Dalit mass to accomplish the overarching goal of creating a comprehensive civilization via various organizations and political parties. Due to the Bahujan Samaj Party's increased mobilization, Dalits could participate in the country's democratic political process & establish a distinct identity for themselves. The Dalit leaders sparked a campaign to retain or expand quotas in political offices, government jobs &social programmes. It refers to the Dalit's new political movement. The Dalit movement altered India's caste system and stressed the struggle for self-esteem. The current reservation system evolved as a result of the Dalit movement.

Major Issues of Dalit Movements

Ghurye (1969) explained the forms of discrimination faced by untouchables in traditional Indian society, such as restricting women of untouchable caste from trying to cover their upper bodies or wearing gold ornaments with sexual proximity beyond the caste. Men wear dhotis below their knees, use public restrooms, and work in occupations outside their caste. Untouchables were also required to carry a thorny branch of a tree to keep their tracks off the road and wear an earthen jug around their neck to collect their spit, which would otherwise contaminate the upper castes.

According to Andre Betielle (1969, 1991), Dalit mobilisation in contemporary India is motivated primarily by political considerations rather than a discriminatory cultural underpinning. Untouchability is fading in modern India as caste-free occupations increase, resulting in the coexistence of Brahmins and Dalits in the same work sector. Gail Omvedt (1999) highlighted the need of using a holistic approach to analyse Dalit mobilisation in India. According to her, every movement undergoes an initiation stage, a consolidation stage, a crystallisation stage, a maturation stage, and a disintegration stage. Dalits were mobilised before India's independence for various reasons, including economic inequity, a lack of social dignity, cultural isolation, and alienation from decision-making processes.

She discusses how the establishment of the Republican Justice Party and the ascent of Dr B R Ambedkar, who maintained that Dalits needed an Ambedkar rather than a Gandhi for emancipation, helped solidify India's Dalit cause. According to Yogendra Singh, the Dalit rebellion in India demonstrates how modernization has weakened the caste. He connects Dalit consciousness to class consciousness to forward the notion that Dalit mobilization in India is hastening India's modernization by emphasizing equality over hierarchy.

Ghanashyam Shah (2004) differentiates between reformist and non-reformist Dalit movements. The former tries to change the caste structure to tackle the problems of casteism. That second group, known as the

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alternative movement, wants to build an alternative socio-cultural system by converting to another faith or earning an education, economic prestige, and political power. Both of these movements use political tactics to attain their goals. Conversion movements and religious or secular organisations are examples of alternative movements.

A Historical Examination of Brahmanism

Dalits and women in India are classified as marginalized elements of society. The castes like Pariahs, Chamars, Mahars, and Bhangis etc. share a typical situation of exploitation & oppression at the hands of India's socalled higher castes. If we look back in time, we will discover that the leading cause is establishing the Caste System, which resulted in the persecution of India's other oppressed groups — women. After a struggle with the indigenous residents of the civilisation, the Aryans arrived in the area from the Middle East & settled in the lush plains of the Ganges. The Aryans defeated the tactically clever people. Minority Aryans overcame the majority Dalits through Divide and Rule tactics, as Braj Ranjan Mani predicted because they would not defeat the majority otherwise. Even today, the Brahmins employ this approach.

Later in the Vedic period, Rig Veda's tenth book, the Purusha Shukta provided the groundwork for subjugating the people in their land. Later in the fifth century, the Shudra Varna people were converted into untouchables. And this resulted in the establishment of Brahmin dominance, accompanied by Dalit exploitation. A Brahman is a magnificent God, whether learned or illiterate. The Brahmans aim for an unequal society, one in which one group of individuals is elevated to the level of God, in stark contrast to another group of people who are deemed even poorer than animals.

By elevating themselves to the highest position, they sought superior prestige, a dignified life, and the right to be obeyed by all members of Indian society. Caste, which was created by man, not God, is now firmly entrenched in Indian culture, thanks to the majority Hindu faith. Gail Omvedt equated Hinduism and Brahmanism in her book Dalit Visions. Hinduism constructs to hide the discriminatory rules of Brahmanism beneath a religion that will be acknowledged as the state religion and hence obeyed without question. The twin theological principles of Karma & Dharma underpin caste philosophy.

And that it was every individual's primary task to defend Dharma, which included preserving the Varnashram social system. Manu, another Brahmin, emphasized the need of preserving the Caste system as the underlying framework of Indian civilization that cannot and should not be altered. Gandhi, the Nation's Father, expressed the same thing: change is synonymous with disorder. Dalits should not be elevated even if they die due to the situation.

Dalit Women Forced into Prostitution

While Dalit women experience similar gender inequality problems as their upper-caste counterparts, they also face specific issues. Dalit women suffer the most because they oppress on three levels: caste, class, and gender. Dalit women have incredibly low literacy & education levels, a high dependency on wage labour, job and salary discrimination, a high concentration of unskilled, low-paid, and hazardous manual labour, and a high rate of violence and sexual exploitation. The struggle of Dalit women extends back to the Vedic period. They compel to work as maids or bonded labourers, where upper-caste males sexually harass them or are pushed to prostitute themselves by society.

The novella Livelihood by Bhimrao Shirwale dives into the natural face of Brahmanism as it exists now. The narrative is about a poor Dalit girl who forces to sell her body to feed her family. This is not an isolated instance; such occurrences are common among Dalit females. Hindu religious institutions were utilized to exploit Dalit women, effectively silencing them. Thus was born the famed Devadasi rite, in which non-Brahmin women were forced to serve the Brahmin priests in the name of worshipping God. This was a bodily service. In other words, the women were sexually harassed and assaulted. The only difference is that women embraced sexual harassment as a way to serve God.

Dalit women must safeguard their bodies in all aspects of life. For them, beauty is a curse in and of itself. Husbands questioned her modesty, and other men attempted to gratify their wants - effectively turning them into prostitutes. Everyone would wear them and then discard them like old clothing. However, because they would only migrate to the upper caste in search of work, if assigned as a housemaid, they would be required to work not just for the house but also to satisfy the appointer's sexual desires. Finally, unable to survive, they would sell their bodies & become prostitutes for all strata of society.

Dalit Movement in India: Prospects

Before 1935, there was a lengthy list of Untouchables and Backward castes, but there was an obsession among the castes deemed to be Shudras and Untouchables to be dubbed upper-caste Hindus. Each caste claimed to be descended from a Brahmin or Thakur. Congress and other Hindu political and social parties waged an aggressive propaganda campaign to exploit the vulnerability of the Untouchables and Backward Classes. On the one hand, atrocities are expanding across India; on the other hand, opposition to reservations is growing. Privatization is closing the doors to progress; on the other hand, the Dalits are not organized in any particular

other hand, the Dalits are not organized in any particular field. Those young individuals who wish to pursue a political career believe that politics is synonymous with election to Parliament and Vidhan Sabha. Rather than embracing the difficult path of struggle, sacrifice, and

mass mobilization, they join parties that offer more money or a better chance of victory. They are more obedient to their Parliamentary and Legislative Assembly masters.

In the eyes of Dalits, Ram is neither their ideal masculine hero nor a deity because he supported Brahmanism and the varna system and committed suicide by drowning in the river Sarju, yet those of Shudra castes join their masters in praising him out of ignorance and political selfishness. What could be a more eloquent demonstration of the backward class and slavery than this? These parties or young people seeking "political jobs" do not work for the interests of workers and the poor, land distribution, unemployment, inflation, or corruption. They disbelieve in such selfless acts. Instead, they assert that once power is placed in our hands, we will do whatever we choose.

Previously, Congress used to issue similar slogans. The Bahujan Samaj Party used similar slogans but did nothing to further Dalit interests once in power. The Untouchables were unable to organize due to a sense of casteism. They are unlikely to ever obtain political power through elections, given the laws and procedures in place today. Some people have benefitted from the reserve, but only a tiny percentage of those helped to elevate society, and reservation is not permanent. For example, if the population of educated people grows and unemployment among educated youth grows, the reservation will become obsolete.

Conclusion

The Dalit Movement is a social revolution in India that aims to change the country's old-fashioned hierarchical society and build a democratic society based on the democratic values of liberty, equality, and social justice. It started a long time ago, but it took off in the 1970s. As Uma Chakraborty points out, one explanation for this is that academics pay little attention. Although books about the Dalit Movement have been written, they do not reflect reality and are written by the Brahmin elites. Nobody wants to face people in positions of authority. Another critical issue is that the Movement is devoid of members from all Dalit communities. In Maharashtra, for example, the Mahars controlled the Movement. Other Dalit communities like the Mangs and Chamars remained passive participants in the Movement. As Kamble pointed out, the Mangs & Chamars had their conventional responsibilities, which enabled them to manage their food somehow. However, the Mahars lacked any traditional obligation that compelled them to resist. At the moment, numerous new difficulties have arisen. The Dalits who attained power became Brahmins' toys. Numerous them emulate the Brahmins by altering their surnames and hence their identities. They are humiliated by the word "Dalits," and as a result, they discriminate against their family members.

Notably, the Dalit Movement opposes Brahmanism, not Brahmins. Brahmanism is a mental state in which one man is considered superior to another. It bestows enormous respect & privileges on the caste at the top of the caste system's ladder and diminishes resources & respect as one falls. The lowest of all castes, its contribution to the Dalits, is exploitation, mockery, and servitude without putting Brahmanical rituals to the test with scientific temperament & reasoning. India attained freedom, but Dalits continue to be humiliated.

Although untouchability is eliminated, unjust behaviours continue. Today, wearing nice clothes is not prohibited, but obtaining a good job is. Under the guise of change & social advancement, today's political & social systems push one group against another, creating enmity & perpetuating a sense of rejection from the past. Education is the only antidote to this type of bigotry. Thus, only when all Dalits struggle for equality can the social reform movement prevails. However, they should acknowledge that caste is ingrained in the thoughts of people and cannot be erased. Thus, social reform refers to the abolition of discriminatory practices and the gaining of Dalit-specific rights.

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Problem and prospects of Jute Industry in Nagaon (Assam)

Dr. Hari Prasad Goenka* & Dhanesh Sharma**

[Jute is an agro-based, employment-oriented basic industry, which is playing an important role in the economic development of the country, particularly in the eastern region. Jute, next to cotton, is the cheapest and the most important of all textile fibers. It is eco-friendly and is a 100% bio-degradable cash crop. Jute is a natural fiber popularly known as golden fiber. As it is one of the cheapest and the strongest of all-natural fibers, it is also considered as fiber of the future. Jute cultivation in India provides work for millions of farmers, landless labourers, and industrial workers and also provides jobs for many others, indirectly. India is the largest producer of jute goods in the world. The cultivation of the jute in India has mainly been confined to the eastern region states i.e. jute is predominantly a crop of eastern India. The industry's future is bright and sound because it is not only confined to the production of traditional jute goods but it is also producing jute diversified products. The diversified jute products have recently a worldwide demand. The objective of this paper is to analyse the various problems and challenges associated with the jute industry of Assam.]

Jute, next to cotton, is the cheapest and the most important of all textile fibers. It is an eco-friendly and is 100% bio-degradable cash crop. Jute is a natural fiber popularly known as golden fiber. It has many advantages over synthetics and protects the environment and maintains the ecological balance. Jute cultivation in India provides work for millions of farmers, landless laborer, and industrial workers and also provides jobs for many others indirectly. India, Bangladesh, China, Myanmar, Nepal, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Brazil, Thailand, and some other countries are the leading producers of jute. India is the largest producer of jute goods in the world.

The major jute-growing states of India are West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, Tripura, Meghalaya, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The Jute industry is an agrobased, a labour-intensive and export-oriented industry of India. For a considerably long period of time, Jute packaging materials have been the leading packaging medium of the world.

Present Scenario of Jute Industry in India

India is the largest producer of raw jute and jute goods and the third largest exporter after Bangladesh. There were about 80 jute mills in India in 2010–11, most of which are located in West Bengal, mainly along the banks of the Hooghly River. The situation prevailing in the Indian jute industry at present does not seem very bright. Out of 73 Jute mills in the country, 2 have been lying closed for a long time and 37 other mills including the 6 units of National Jute Manufactures Corporation (NJMC) Ltd. are sick. The incorporation of NJMC Ltd. in 1980 is an important landmark in the history of the Indian Jute mill industry.

Problems of Jute Industries

Major problems facing the Indian Jute Industries are

- 1. High cost of production.
- 2. Storage of raw Jute materials.
- 3. Shortage of Power Supply.
- 4. Growth of Jute mills in Bangladesh and loss of foreign market.
- 5. Tough competition in international markets from synthetic products.

Jute Industry in Assam

Assam is the 2nd largest jute-producing state in India which yield 1.5 million bales of jute whereas Nagaon, Barpeta, and Darrang districts are the main jute-producing district. Due to some problems like lack of infrastructural facilities, capital and entrepreneurship skill there are few jute mills that are lacking behind. Assam Co-operative Jute Mill was established at Silghat of Nagaon district in Assam that is a full-fledged jute mill that started its manufacturing process for marketing and business. This is the only Jute Mill in the Country in Co-operative Sector. It was registered in the year 1959 under the Assam Co-operative Societies Act. Now the mill is introducing some latest technologies for its innovation and further growth.

Literature Review

A review of literature is a comprehensive study and interpretation of literature that addresses a specific topic. It provides us with a handy guide to a particular topic.

Akter, S., Sadekin, M. N., & Islam, N. (2020) tried to give some policies suggestions that may help to eradicate the problems and improve the present conditions of the jute industry in Bangladesh. They used inferential statistics in their research process and used the direct questionnaire method and also secondary data to collect information. It has been concluded from the

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study that these industries are contributing to the national income of Bangladesh.

Arafat Hussain, Shubhra Kanti Das, Kawser Hussain and Joyanta Paul (2013) carried out this project work for investigating the existing Inventory Management system of Eastern Jute Mills Ltd, Khulna, Bangladesh. Eastern Jute Mills Limited manufactures jute products such as hessian, sacks, and jute carpet backing clothes. For investigating the inventory related data and information, the necessary data had been collected from this Jute Mill.

Amiya Kumar Bagachi, Panchanam Das(2014) in their study have revealed the reasons for the survival of the jute industry in India. It is aimed at disclosing the technical reasons for the growth of the industry. Data are collected from the factories through direct questionnaires and through correspondence.

Ira Mitra (1981) in her article traces the growth of the trade union movement in the Indian jute industry during the years between the two World Wars. It considers the features specific to the jute industry which contributed to the growth of trade union consciousness among the jute mill workers, such as the nature and composition of the jute labour force, the structure of the industry, and the location of the jute mills in a relatively compact area on the banks of the Hooghly. It also examines briefly some of the other factors that affected the attempts by the jute mill workers to build trade unions.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the present study are stated below:

- 1. To study the financial aspects of jute mills of Nagaon district since 2016.
- 2. To analyse the various problem faced by jute mills of Nagaon.
- 3. To provide suggestions and recommendations for the growth and development of jute factories.

Research Methodology

The present study was undertaken by way of Descriptive Research. An attempt has been made by the researcher to get an explicit idea about the financial aspects of jute factories of Nagaon town. In this study the researcher has chosen the jute factories of the Nagaon district of Assam for research purposes. There are two jute factories that are operating in the urban area of the district and contributing to the economic development of the district as well as the state.

They are (a) Prakash Jute Industry Pvt Ltd., and (b) G.D. Jute Mill. The data collected will be suitably classified

and analysed keeping in view the objectives of the study. For this research work required information and data have been collected mainly from secondary sources. Financial statements and other published accounts of jute mills are the main sources of study. An informal set of questions has been structured for gathering some details about the profile of these two factories from the managers of the organizations.

Significance of the Study

The jute industry is an age-old industry which is playing an important role in the economic development of the country, particularly in the eastern region. The jute industry contributes to exports. It may be mentioned that bulks of jute goods produced by the industry are conventional products like hessian, sacking, carpet backing cloth, and vam. The Indian Jute Industry with its customer-friendly approach has been regularly improving its product mix. Today, jute is looked upon not only as a major textile fibre but also as a raw material for manufacturing products that help to protect the environment and to maintain the ecological balance. It is an important pillar of our national economy. Hence the analysis of financial aspects of jute industries is significant in order to know their financial strength and weaknesses.

This study will help to know the organizational as well as entrepreneur mind-set and approach towards adoption of financial practices and management of jute mills. It will add to the existing body of knowledge and literature on the financial analysis practices of the jute industry. The present study will help in important policy implications for the government and jute industry in general.

Data Analysis and Interpretation
Statement of annual sales and profit of selected sample jute mills

Financial	Prakash Jute Pvt.Ltd		G.d.Jute Mill	
	Sales (in '000)	Profits (in '000)	Sales (in '000)	Profits (in '000)
2015-16	15,450	2120	12,560	1590
2016-17	15,989	2359	11,980	1614
2017-18	16,870	2186	13,241	1689
2018-19	16,600	2384	13,980	1745
2019-20	15,950	1940	14,560	1679
2020-21	15,798	1753	15,124	1690

Source: Primary data from sample Jute mills.

Findings of the Study

Findings of the paper are briefly stated below:

- 1. These two jute mills are sufferings from the problem of adequate working capital.
- 2. The production of jute products and volume of sales has increased since 2017 as latest production techniques has implemented over last few years.
- 3. These mills are also exporting a major part of their stock to outside the state i.e to UP, Bihar, Haryana, MP, Delhi.
- 4. Lack of skilled labour and effective management is a major problem for these two units.
- The volume of production of jute products also restricts due to irregular supply of raw jute and power failure.
- 6. The profit of these two factories has shown a growth of 10%-15% annually on an average.
- 7. Most of the Investment and finance to these factories has been supported by banks and institutional loan.
- 8. Labour turnover and sudden break-down of machines sometimes leads to disturbance of production operation.
- 9. Stocks are not maintained properly as manual recording system are preferred by managers.
- 10. Sales has influenced during last few years as Jute products as facing tough competition from synthetic products.

Recommendations

- 1. Proper wages policy should be framed and implemented to reduce labour turnover.
- 2. Marketing strategies should be upgraded to increase local consumption and utilization of jute products.
- Provision should be made for training and development of workers and staff to increase their efficiency.
- 4. Solar-energy systems should be the alternative source of power generation.
- Stock and order placement of raw jute should be maintained properly to avoid a shortage of raw materials.
- Computerized recording of finished goods and raw materials should be maintained to avoid abnormal loss of stock.
- 7. Packaging and labelling of jute products should be improved to attract new market for products.
- 8. Quality of jute products should be improved scientifically to attract the market at national and international levels.

9. Cost of production can be reduced by way of cost analysis and adopting cost-effective policies.

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Twitter-based Analysis of Disruptive Technologies in Higher Education

Ms. Nidhi Singh* & Dr. Parul Sinha**

[In today's world, technology has a tangible impact on the existing market, and sustaining for leading firms and industries becomes a big challenge. Education is an indispensable part of this modern society, and it is also undergoing a drastic change due to changes in industries. The paper investigates how faculty use Twitter data to form their ideas and perceptions. And to identify different disruptive technologies used by faculty in teaching and learning, a qualitative analysis of 164 faculty tweets from Twitter was collected for this study helps as a tool for researchers, academicians, policymakers, and practitioners associated with education systems to get a broader view to understand the impact of disruptive technology on higher education. In addition, this study helps further to academicians in their decision-making how to incorporate these technologies in the classroom. The evidence from this review suggests the need of Industries 4.0 and what changes are required in existing current education pedagogy. Further, it helps to introduce a new concept of the Life-Long Learning process.]

isruptive technology does not support the current system; instead, it sweeps it away and replaces it with superior attributes. Over the past five years, disruptive technology has existed to transform higher education by including the limitations of major elements of face-to-face interactions during class time to online education. It is imperative to establish that higher education has experienced numerous changes over the past few years, most changes necessitated by disruptive technology (Almarzooq, Lopes & Kochar, 2020).

Unbundling refers to the process of disaggregating higher education into components that students are allowed to pick from (Schmidthuber, Maresch & Ginner, 2020). The main types of disruptive technology widely accepted and utilized at the higher education level include gamification, simulation, AR/VR, and webcasting. Gamification refers to applying game-design elements and principles of the game in non-game contexts (Bongomin et al., 2020). Simulation-based education (SE) refers to simulation software, games, and tools to enrich the learning process (Podymov et al., 2019). Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality (AR/VR) are chiefly used in higher education for various functions (Bongomin et al., 2020).

While integrating technology in the class (Brace and Roberts, 1996) was very challenging for faculty because it required time to incorporate (Munroe, 2003). Due to the changing roles and responsibilities of faculty, they do not have time to learn technology until colleges and universities provide training on how to use technology in class (Zayim, 2006). In the last decade, various studies (Spotts, 1999; Butler & Sellbom, 2002) have determined

that faculty members are less likely to use technology that does not function correctly during lectures.

Several studies have investigated the type of disruptive technologies used in teaching and learning. However, very few studies have done sentimental analysis to capture the mind-set of faculty opinion on how faculties perceive disruptive technologies. Thus, in the current study, an attempt has been made to know which types of disruptive technologies are emerging in higher education and the opinion of faculty toward disruptive technologies.

Research Methodology

Twitter was chosen as a source due to its overwhelming popularity among netizens. Ncapture, a qualitative software plugin, was used to capture the tweets (Ekenga, C. et al., 2018). Only tweets from India were included in the parameters #moocs #webcasting #gamification #simulation, #higher education and #online education were the keywords used to search tweets. Fifty thousand tweets were gathered using these keywords over a month, from August 1st to September 1st, 2021. By exporting all of the tweets into an excel file, the data was cleansed.

Sentimental Analysis of Disruptive Technologies in Higher Education

We conducted a sentiment analysis of 164 faculty reviews to better understand the disruptive technologies affecting higher education. The auto-coded sentiments are identified in the reviews of four disruptive technologies are presented below.

Gamification

In the study, 21 reviews express a negative (either extremely negative or moderately negative) attitude toward the employer's use of gamification in higher education, while only 12 reviews express a positive (either extremely positive or moderately positive) attitude toward the use of gamification in higher education.

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The above demonstrates that the number of positive tweets about gamification in education and learning is significantly greater than the number of negative tweets. The faculty discovered that integrating gamification into teaching and learning was beneficial since it enhances student motivation and the dynamic and participatory aspect of gamification.

Moocs

In the study, 20 reviews express a negative (extremely negative or moderately negative) attitude toward the use of MOOCs in higher education, whereas 36 reviews express a positive (extremely positive or moderately positive) attitude toward MOOCs in higher education, which can be interpreted as moderately positive sentiments when "MOOCs" is used as an ideal criterion.

The above demonstrates that the number of positive tweets about MOOCs in education and learning is significantly greater than the number of negative tweets. The faculty discovered that integrating MOOCs reflected major educational trends.

Simulation

In the study, 76 reviews express a negative (extremely negative or moderately negative) attitude toward the use of simulation in higher education, whereas 317 reviews express a positive (extremely positive or moderately positive) attitude toward the employer's use of simulation in higher education.

The above demonstrates that the number of negative tweets about simulation in education and learning is significantly greater than the number of positive tweets. The faculty discovered that integrating simulation with the current pedagogy required much effort, time, and preparation. Faculty has also discovered that to use simulation they required training.

Webcasting

In the study, 33 reviews express a negative (extremely negative or moderately negative) attitude toward the use of webcasting in higher education, whereas 12 reviews express a positive (extremely positive or moderately positive) attitude toward the employer's use of webcasting in higher education.

The above shows that there are far more negative tweets about webcasting in teaching and learning than positive tweets. Due to a lack of relevant learning tools, resources, and instruments for developing high-quality content, the faculty had significant difficulty incorporating webcasting into current pedagogy.

Conclusion

Several tweets from individuals and faculties on Twitter are studied and interpreted, revealing different types of disruptive technologies such as gamification, MOOCs, webcasting, and simulation were frequently used by faculty in teaching and learning. Also, based on sentimental analysis, it can be determined that those faculties have mixed feelings about technologies

(gamification, MOOCs, webcasting, and simulation) adoptions.

When the results are added together, they provide valuable insights into Twitter's perceptions and feelings toward adopting disruptive technologies. Faculty prefers traditional teaching methods; however, they are inclined to adopt a technology-based and led teaching-learning system if the right facilities are available. There should be a balance between teaching with technologies and teaching without technologies in the hybrid learning system.

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Public Health Sector Governance in India

Supriya David*

[Public Health in the country is rapidly emerging at the centre stage of healthcare as with development there is also an outbreak of new diseases like Covid-19 pandemic, along with prevailing ones like HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, vector-borne and other diseases. To counter these diseases effectively and to promote public health as a whole, there is a need to coordinate the promotive, preventive, and curative aspects of healthcare. Hence there is a need for proper planning, policy modification, and implementation. The present paper is an attempt to analyse the Health Sector Governance in India.]

Public Policy on health simply means a framework adopted by the state towards the promotion of healthcare including preventive, promotive, and curative care of its people. The need for public policy on health is felt because health is a public good. Health is a right of every individual, but in reality, access to that right is governed by its cost and affordability.

According to the World Health Organization, "Health is a condition of total physical, mental, and social wellbeing, not only the absence of sickness or disability," It has been observed that the literature on the measurement of health care governance is limited. An inventory of global health indicators to measure commitment to health was prepared by the Centre for Global Development (CGD) in 2006. Immediately after this; WHO in 2008 came up with measuring Health Sector Governance which draws upon two types of indicators – rule-based and outcome-based.

The rule-based indicators are aimed to assess whether nations have suitable policies, plans, and formalised methodologies for health sector governance. The first set of indicators is measured by computing a policy index. It is this summary measure of governance quality that is used to evaluate the effectiveness of government from the standpoint of rules-based governance. It is possible to quantify the amount to which rules and procedures are being effectively executed or enforced using outcome-based indicators, such as the availability of pharmaceuticals in health facilities or the lack of healthcare personnel in public health facilities, among other things.

The health sector governance index on the whole is an integral part of the World's Bank annual Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA). When it comes to promoting sustainable, poverty-reducing growth and the efficient use of development aid, the CPIA index measures the effectiveness of a country's policy and institutional structure. Using a set of criteria that can be broadly classified into five clusters, the index calculates a score: economic management, structural policies, social inclusion and equity policies, public sector

management and institutions, governance in the health and education sectors, and governance in general. The scores from each analysis are then combined to get the overall CPIA index.

The WHO (2008) Toolkit on monitoring health systems strengthening uses a simple framework, covering ten rule-based indicators on which a composite governance indicator is defined. This method of measurement of the health sector is achievable only at the national level. It cannot be applied to cover state-level health governance. In the absence of individual health policies/strategies at the state level, a major determinant of health governance, the policy index cannot be computed for specific states.

Yet the achievements of the National Rural Health Mission (NHRM) in different states and Union Territories can be measured by applying the tools of this method. In any case, a multi-level assessment of the functioning of all three sets of actors (citizens, providers, and state actors) remains the best instrument to quantify health governance.

Public Health Policy in India

India did not have a formal public health policy until 1982-83 when the first National Health Policy was adopted. Prior to the adoption of this policy, health services and allied activities were formulated through five-year plans and the recommendations of various committees which were appointed from time to time to examine different aspects of health and health services. The evolution of Public Policy on Health in India can be seen in three broad periods:

Pre -Independence Period

Post- Independence Period

Post- Economic Reforms- Health Sector Reforms

Pre- Independence Period

The process of health policy making and planning for independent India began towards the end of the colonial rule when the then Government of India (Union Government of British India Provinces) set up a Health Survey and Development Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore in 1943 (India Governance Report, 2013). It was considered to be a

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watershed in health policy and health planning in India (Duggal, 2005).

The report of the Bhore Committee is popularly known as the blueprint for health services development in India. The report was not merely an authoritative document but it also emphasized the integration of curative and preventive medicines at all levels (Banerji, 1985). Its major recommendation included the development of Primary Health Centres (PHCs) in two stages.

Post- Independence Period

Immediately after Independence, the newly independent nation started devoting itself to consolidating resources and nation-building. During this phase, health policy included the implementation of rural health services through PHCs. Promotion of indigenous systems of medicine, provision of appropriately protected water supply, environment sanitation and nutrition programmes were all included in the national socio-economic strategy. The growth of health services in the post-independence phase can be divided into four phases: 1950-65, 1966-80, 1980s and since the 1990s.

1950-1965 Phase

The first and second five-year plans covering the initial period of the 1950s till 1965 focussed on developing basic infrastructure and manpower. Water and sanitation, malaria control, preventative healthcare for rural populations through health centres and mobile units, and health services for women and children were also emphasised (Nundy, 2005). Along with this, the development of health education and training, setting up of advanced research institutions, and medical colleges with tertiary hospitals, and primary health centres took place rapidly (Priya, 2005). However, with sub-centres lagging behind, the situation at the village level remained as it was.

This period witnessed the initiation of vertical programmes in the form of nationwide disease control programmes. The early 1950s saw the launch of two national programmes; the Family Planning Programme in 1951 and the Malaria Eradication Programme in 1953. Programmes for the eradication of smallpox, and controlling tuberculosis, filaria, leprosy, and venereal diseases were also carried out during this phase. These programmes were assisted by international agencies like UNICEF, WHO etc.

1966-1980 Phase

The third plan was launched in 1961, which highlighted the inadequacy of health care institutions, doctors, and other personnel in rural areas. All these were the shortcomings of the second five-year plan regarding the health sector. Increasing the number of ANMs was recognised but training centres to train them could not be established due to inadequate funds. There was a total contradiction in the stated policy objectives and actual allocation of funds.

The need to focus on and strengthen the Public Health Centres (PHC) was acknowledged in the fourth plan (1969-74). A separate allocation to PHC was made for the first time (Duggal, 2005). Sub-divisional and district hospitals were to be developed as referral centres for PHCs to strengthen their base. The importance of PHCs was suddenly felt and acknowledged with the sudden rise of malaria cases in 1963-65.

It was in the fifth five-year plan (1974-79) that the government acknowledged the neglect of rural areas and the failure in adopting an integrated approach to the provision of health services. It was also realised that health has to be addressed with other development programmes. With the objective to increase the accessibility of health services to rural areas, the Minimum needs Programme was launched in the first year of the fifth five-year plan period. Referral services were also developed. Health programmes were reformulated and health care services were to be provided through a new category of health personnel to be specifically trained as multipurpose workers.

During the 1975-77 crises, the family planning programme gained momentum. It was renamed the "Family Welfare Programme" in 1977 when it was linked with maternity and child health in the Fourth Five Year Plan and health and nutrition in the Fifth Plan. In the year 1977, following the recommendations of the Shrivastava Committee, a Community Health Workers/ Volunteers Scheme was launched. The local panchayat chose and educated a cadre of village workers in simple promotive and curative skills in both allopathic and traditional systems of medicine. This was done to address the shortage of skilled workers in rural regions.

1980s Phase

During the Sixth Plan Period (1980-84), India's first National Health Policy was created to provide universal, comprehensive primary healthcare. Unlike the western paradigm of health, it stressed preventative, promotive, and rehabilitative primary care. To this end, the government was to utilize the support of private and voluntary agencies in providing integrated health services.

The sixth plan emphasises the creation of a community-based health system in order to provide health care to rural regions. The need of establishing links amongst all interconnected programmes such as water supply, environmental sanitation, nutrition, and education was emphasised. This period, along with that of the seventh plan, saw an expansion of rural health infrastructure. However, there was a mismatch between infrastructure, adequate and quality facilities, also adequate and trained personnel. The sixth and the seventh Plans no longer spoke of "targets". They used the keywords of "efficiency" and "quality" to make way for privatization.

The seventh plan (1985-90) re-emphasized the need to develop rural health programme and health infrastructure

at the primary level. It reiterated the strengthening of the three-tier system and also called for addressing the shortage in personnel, equipment and infrastructure. This, the state, could not do entirely, on its own given the financial crisis it was going through. The eighth plan openly encouraged setting up private hospitals, clinics and medical education by tax incentives, soft loans, etc.

Health Sector Reforms

Health sector reforms is a feature of the 1980s and the 1990s. India experienced an economic crisis due to the balance of payments and with negligible foreign currency reserves. Thus, perforce India adopted Health Sector Reforms (HSR) incorporating more selective and technology-centred changes in programmes for health. Most importantly, by switching over from a "service" to a "commodity" for which everybody has to pay, it brought in a change in the "conceptualisation of healthcare". Markets should be given more importance, and market concepts can be implemented into governmental services to make them more efficient (Baru, 2009).

The initiation of Health Sector Reforms has largely been seen as a turning point in the way government shared or shifted responsibilities for the healthcare of its citizens. The primary ideas of Health Sector Reforms were to improve efficiency, effectiveness, and quality of public health care. These changes included leasing out supplementary services, reducing staff, and decentralisation.

The World Bank's 1993 World Growth Report, Investing in Health, highlighted the bank's vision for health sector development in developing nations. It focused on strengthening management structures, contracting staff, strengthening infrastructures, Public-Private Partnership (PPP), introducing user-fees, Public-NGO links, campaign modes, and public institutions' sale to the Private Sector.

Almost all states in India adopted reforms in the health sector. Some states took up initiatives without any assistance from the World Bank. Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu initiated reforms without the bank's assistance. Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal availed financial assistance from the bank. For the bank-assisted states, emphasis was on improving the physical infrastructure of services, particularly those related to national sector programmes which are funded by bilateral and multilateral agencies.

National Health Policy-1983

The first National Health Policy of the country came into being in 1983 as a response to the need for an integrated and comprehensive approach in the development of healthcare. Until then, healthcare services were based on Western models of healthcare, which were usually unsuited to the people's needs and objectives. Focus on cure led to the abandonment of adequate primary healthcare services for all. This created a cultural divide between patients and caregivers.

The policy of 1983 felt that the planning process failed to involve the community in planning programmes and policies by not acknowledging its role in identifying health needs and priorities. The National Health Policy-83 against this backdrop advocated a health policy based on the revised 20-point programme. The policy was the first state document which openly encouraged the establishment of private practice of medical professionals and increased investment in curative facilities by private sector to reduce the burden of the government.

It encouraged the private investment in establishing speciality and super speciality service centres for those who could afford so that limited speciality centres in the public sector could be made available for those who were to entitle to free care. It recommended offering organised financial and logistical support to voluntary organisations to increase private investment. So it urged concerted efforts to fully use and expand the services supplied by private non-profit organisations.

Following the 1983 National Health Policy, rural healthcare received special focus and a massive expansion of Public Health Centres (PHC) facilities were undertaken in 6th and the 7th five-year plans. But, it has been noticed that even in areas where the infrastructure was in place, there was underutilization due to a number of factors including poor facilities, inadequate supplies, faulty planning of health programmes and lack of proper monitoring and evaluator mechanisms.

National Health Policy 2002 (NHP-2002)

The Second National Health Policy came up after a gap of 18 years. It talked of integration of vertical programmes, strengthening infrastructure, decentralisation of healthcare delivery, regulation of private practice etc. The document has also been criticised for its break in continuity from the past by ignoring the 1983 policy objectives of protecting and providing primary health care for all, especially the underprivileged (Qadeer, 2002).

Foremost among the recommendations was an increase in the health sector expenditure on the part of Central and State Governments. While the Central Government expenditure was to increase to 6% of the GDP by 2010, state governments should be at 8% (India Governance Report, 2012). The policy envisaged gradual convergence of all health programmes under a single field administration. The NHP-2002 also called for the implementation of programmes through autonomous bodies at the State and District levels. It also encouraged the participation of the private health sector at all-primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

It also envisaged multiple partnerships between the public-private and public- NGO partnership in providing health care. It called for setting up of private insurance

facilities to deal with financing at secondary and tertiary levels. It was firmly in favour of the establishment of a social health insurance programme, which would be subsidised by the government and whose services would be provided by private companies.

National Health Policy -2017

The fundamental goal of NHP-2017, 14 years after NHP-2002, is to increase the role of the government in influencing health systems in all aspects. Public health expenditure is proposed to be increased to 2.5 percent of GDP in a time-bound manner, according to the policy. State development indicators, absorption capacity, and financial indicators would be used to determine resource distribution to states, according to the plan. For each additional dollar of state resources allocated to public health spending, the states would be compensated.

There are seven main areas that the strategy focuses on, including the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, a healthy diet and regular exercise, the misuse of cigarettes and alcohol, Yatri Suraksha, Nirbhaya Nari, decreased stress and enhanced workplace safety, and the reduction of indoor and outdoor air pollution. The policy places a strong focus on AYUSH services, ASHA workers, and the practice of yoga at work. Mobile medical units, as advocated by the policy, should be used to increase the reach of public healthcare.

Health Budgeting in India

India spends around 1.1% of its GDP on health as compared to around 2.8 % in low and middle-income countries. It is among the lowest in the world with one of the highest out-of-pocket expenditures (around 80% of the total health finance is private out-of-pocket) It is projected that one-quarter of all Indians will fall below the poverty line if they are hospitalised, and more than 40% of those who are hospitalised in a year will borrow money or sell assets in order to pay for their medical care.

As part of the United Progressive Alliance's national common minimum policy, which was announced in 2004, the government committed to increasing public expenditure on health to at least 2-3 percent of GDP, with a particular emphasis on primary healthcare. A health insurance scheme for the poor in the form of Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana was introduced in 2008 but still, public spending on health has not been increased to the stated 2-3% of GDP.

Health is essentially a state subject in India with part financing from the centre. Though the State accounts for 75 to 90% of public spending on health, almost 80% of it is spent on salaries and wages, leaving little funds for essential inputs like drugs, equipment and non-wage items.

Conclusion

The designing of public policy on health in India started with a well-thought-out comprehensive document like

the Bhore Committee Report which laid down the blueprint for providing comprehensive primary health care to the people. Its recommendations; however, could not be followed optimally in the decades thereafter. Instead of strengthening comprehensive primary care, to begin with, too much effort was laid on vertical disease control and population control programmes. As a matter of fact, comprehensive primary healthcare was attacked as not feasible in many countries, including India, and instead selective primary healthcare was offered as an interim alternative.

Thus, notwithstanding certain apparent changes, the focus has remained the same. The National Rural Health's mission-induced recent changes had further confirmed this point. While the concept of ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist), for example, a woman from the community, being a part of the health services delivery system, may seem to be empowering and participatory, in reality, the work she does is in no way different than what was expected of a community health worker/volunteer, as envisaged in earlier official documents, including the Bhore committee report. If the focus of services still remains the same, new posts with fancy names would not make much difference. Over, the last few decades, health policy design in India seems to have been constrained by this convoluted syndrome.

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Gandhi and Ambedkar: Unity vs. Diversity

Dr. Rajesh Kota*

[The Gandhi and Ambedkar conflict was over how to understand caste. Ambedkar insisted, for the first time in India's modern history, that caste was a political question, and couldn't be addressed by social reforms only," he said. Ambedkar was in favour of annihilation of the caste system as it was beyond reforms. Gandhi did not support the abolition of the caste system or the Varnashram order. He was in favour of bringing behavioural change in society regarding the ills of the caste system. Nevertheless, both of them had realized the issues of lower castes and worked for the emancipation of the same. Both tried to challenge the existing systems, Gandhi did it on the social and moral front whereas Ambedkar did it on the political front. This paper aims to grab an ideological tension between Gandhi and Ambedkar.]

he political, social and philosophical conflict between generation's profound intellectualist, M.K Gandhi and Dr Ambedkar has a long tradition and still by no means ended. Ambedkar, the untouchable was heir to an anti-caste tradition dating back to Buddhism and Gandhi, a Vaishya born into Gujarati Bania family, was latest to the privileged caste Hindu reformism dating back to the works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Both Gandhi and Ambedkar represented separate interest groups and to quote Arundhati Roy, "their battle unfolded in the heart of India's national movement (Roy, 2014).

Ambedkar was Gandhi's most stiff opponent politically, intellectually, and morally. Ambedkar was also criticized by the Gandhian intellectuals. They called him an "opportunist" because he served as labour member of British viceroy's executive council between 1942 and 1946. He was called a "British stooge" because he accepted the British invitation to the first round table conference in 1930 when many congressmen were imprisoned for breaking salt laws. He was further called a "separatist", because he wanted a separate electorate for untouchables. He was characterized as "anti-national" because he suggested that Jammu and Kashmir can be trifurcated (divided into three) and he supported Muslim league's case for Pakistan (ibid. P.2).

In an interview given by Dr Ambedkar to BBC, he says "a comparative study of Gujarati and English writings will reveal how Mr. Gandhi was deceiving people" (Ambedkar, 1995). Gandhi's endorsement of the caste system in Gujarati paper was translated from Gujarati to English by Ambedkar. "Caste is another name for the control. Caste puts a limit on enjoyment. Caste does not allow a person to transgress caste limits in pursuit of his enjoyment. That is the meaning of such caste restrictions as inter-dining and inter-marriage, these being my views I am opposed to all those who are out to destroy the caste system" (Roy, 2014 p. 2).

Gandhi was holding Arya Samaj's position on Varna. He believed in the Varna system and the position that a

person's Varna was to be decided by their worth and not by birth. Ambedkar considered this position by Gandhi as nonsense (ibid., p. 3). He further challenges Gandhi by asking: How are you going to compel people who have acquired a higher status based on birth without reference to their worth to vacate that status? (Ambedkar, 1944, p. 32). How are you going to compel people to recognize the status due of a man in accordance with his worth, who is occupying a lower status based on his birth? (ibid.).

What is to happen to women in their system? Are they also to be divided into four classes, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra? Or are they to be allowed to take the status of their husbands (ibid.). Ambedkar further argues that this position was taken by Gandhi due to the double role he played-Gandhi as a "mahatma" and Gandhi as a "politician". Gandhi as a politician acknowledged caste and Varna because "he is afraid that he will lose his place in politics" (ibid. p.64)

Gandhi emphasized 'monotheism'. He was a Sanatan Hindu and on this basis he supported the movement of untouchables to enter temples. According to Irfan Habib, 'he tended to make Hinduism more monotheistic than did even the Arya Samajis, with whom, of course, he did not agree" (Habib, 2013, p. 26). Irfan Habib conceives that the greatest achievement of Gandhi was in relation to the theological tenets of Hinduism. He was able to emphasise that caste system was not essentially a part of Hinduism, by the year of Gandhi's death, Gandhi was able to produce reformist zeal inside Hinduism.

When communal award in September 1932 recognized the right to separate electorate for untouchables, Gandhi embarked on his epic fast unto death to get it revoked. The moral pressure to save Gandhi's life forced Ambedkar to accept a compromise, known as 'Poona Pact', which provided 151 reserved seats for the scheduled castes in the joint electorate. (Bandyopadhya, 2013, p. 355).

Ambedkar argued that the fears expressed by Gandhi about the consequences of the arrangement for the representation of depressed classes as 'purely

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imaginary'. He argued that "if the nation is not going to be split by separate electorates to Mohamedans and Sikhs, the Hindu society cannot be said to split up if the depressed classes are given separate electorate" (Ambedkar, n.d., p. 1). Even Dr Moonje, a strong protagonist of the Hindu case and a militant advocate of its interest did not oppose the communal award.

Ambedkar argued that Gandhi offered Muslims all the fourteen claims during the minorities' pact and in return asked them to join with him in resisting the claims of social representation made by Ambedkar, on behalf of depressed classes (ibid.). Ambedkar further thanked Muslim delegates for refusing to be a part of the black act and saving depressed classes from a calamity.

Gandhi professed the view that "shastras should be interpreted, not by the learned but the saints and that, as the saints have understood them, the shastras do not support caste and untouchability" (Ambedkar, 1944, p. 58). Ambedkar replied to this in his most radical text Annihilation of Caste, that "masses do not know the contents of shastras. They have believed, what they have been told, and what they have told is that shastras do enjoin as a religious duty, the observance of caste and untouchability" (Ambedkar, 1944, p. 58).

When Ambedkar became a member of the Constituent Assembly, his main concern was to privilege and legalise 'constitutional morality over traditional social morality of the caste system'. As a law minister in post-independence India, he worked on drafting a Hindu code bill. The bill proposed sanctioned divorce and expanded the property rights of widows and daughters. His attempt was to make Hindu personal law more equitable for women. He soon identified the futility of his association with Congress and resigned from the cabinet in 1951, when Congress refused to support him on the 'Hindu code bill' (Bandyopadhya, 2013, p. 357).

The annihilation of caste is the text of the speech that Ambedkar was supposed to deliver to an audience of caste Hindus – Jat-pat Todak Mandal of Lahore – for distributing his speech earlier asked him to provide the text of speech earlier. When they came to know that he was going to launch an intellectual assault on Vedas and shastras, they asked him to alter the speech. But Ambedkar refused, so the event was cancelled.

Gandhi argued that 'religion has to be judged not by its worst specimens but by the best it might have produced' (Ambedkar, 1944, p. 59). Ambedkar challenged this too. Gandhi's argument that "Hinduism would be tolerable if only many were to follow the examples of saints" proved fallacious to Ambedkar. Gandhi, while suggesting that Hindu society can be made tolerable and even happy without any fundamental structural change in its structure, if all Hindus are persuaded to follow a high standard of morality in their dealings with the low-caste Hindus, was something

illusionary. For Ambedkar, the attempt of improving the personal character of high caste Hindus was a waste of energy.

To a lower caste man, it cannot be good that there is a higher caste man above him. Such consciousness or rationality is unjust. So a society based on Varna or caste can only prove a wrong relationship. To the end of Gandhi's life, he was more tolerant to inter-caste marriage and inter-dining. Gandhi's youngest son (born a Vaishya) had married a Brahmin's daughter, and Ambedkar found this as the reason for his tolerance for inter-caste marriage in his later life.

The Hindu society itself is a myth for Ambedkar. The name 'Hindu' itself is a foreign name (Roy, 2014, p. 5). It was given by Mohammedans to the natives who lived east of the river Indus and it did not occur in any Sanskrit work prior to the Mohammedan invasion and they did not feel the necessity of a common name, because they had no sense of being constituted as a community. Hindu society does not exist; it was just a collection of castes. Gandhi was called 'mahatma' in 1915, soon after his return from South Africa, at a meeting in Gondal, Gujrat. The entitled patronage 'mahatma' has to be strictly scrutinized. Gandhi was only a prominent spokesperson for passenger Indians*. He was always careful to distinguish passenger Indians from indentured workers, while he was at South Africa. Gandhi rejected Western civilization. Gandhi's critique of Western modernity came from a nostalgic evocation of a uniquely Indian pastoral bliss. But to Ambedkar and most Dalits, Gandhi's ideal village was 'a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and communalism' (Roy, 2014, p. 11). It should be remembered that Ambedkar's critique of nostalgia came from western liberalism.

Ambedkar was dreaming of 'the city of justice, an enlightened India. While Gandhi considered city as an "excrescence" that served at present movement the evil purpose of draining the life blood of villages. This conceptualisation also points us to the degree of difference, these prominent leaders had. Arundhati Roy has exposed the 'duality' of Gandhi's conception. She argues that while Gandhi, promoted his village republic, his pragmatism allowed him to support and be supported by big industry and big dogmas as well. His chief sponsor from the year he came back from South Africa to the end of his days was G.D Birla.

Irfan Habib has also accused Gandhi of remaining within the bourgeoisie framework of thought (Habib, 2013, p. 27). Gandhi in the Champaran Satyagraha was leading rich peasants (1917) and in Kheda Satyagraha and Ahmedabad working-class strike, he was entering into compromises. In long term, Gandhi was talking about Zamindars as trustees, as custodians of peasants, who should be paid rent so that they will open schools and hospitals. This 'impractical idealism' as Irfan Habib has called it, makes Gandhi accused of being an agent of the big bourgeoisie.

Ambedkar called the domino effect of caste system as "infection of Imitation". Arundhati Roy beautifully summarizes this process. 'Like a half-life of a radioactive atom, decays exponentially as it moves down the caste ladder, but never quite or disappears'. She further explains the exponential decay of the radioactive atom of caste as, Brahmanism is practiced not just by Brahmin against Kshatriya or the Vaishya against the Shudra, or the Shudra against the untouchable, but also by untouchable against unseeable (Roy, 2014, p. 11).

If you want to bring a breach in caste system, Ambedkar tells us to apply the dynamite to all the Vedas and shastras. He summarizes Hindu religion as a multitude of Commands and Prohibition. Ambedkar was not applying dynamite to Vedas and shastras, thus to the core beliefs of Gandhi. The two different positions taken by these two legends have marked a long intellectual debate. This debate leads to problematize the 'mahatma' tag attached to Gandhi and reinvigorate the centrality of caste in the Indian national movement.

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India and Global Governance: Issues and Challenges

Dr. Shantesh K. Singh* & Isha Vimal**

[This article makes the case that the traditional understanding of status in international relations is out of date due to the Rise of the Developing States. In contrast to the 19th and 20th centuries, when status was predominantly attributed to the effects of war, the 21st century sees more over institutional bases for status attributions. Therefore, opportunities to influence status standing are expanded with the transition from domestic concerts to larger platforms. In terms of global governance leadership, this process of "democratisation" is crucial, especially for such states who are lacking the structural capacity of major powers. In this work, the effectiveness of this project for India's ambition to reform Global Governance is examined. As India is promoting its international status by advocating for a reform of Global Governance, particularly on a more practical role.]

India is a notable player in many institutions of global governance either it is regional grouping like BRICS or institutions like United Nations. In recent times, India's aspirations gained new strength and at the same time India reorient its vision towards outer world with national interest at its core. In this century, the major force behind its global outreach is its expanding military strength, economic growth, and its diplomacy. In terms of economy, once India was classified as a "Hindu rate of growth" but in present times as per IMF data, it now touches the figure of US\$2 trillion economy and got the label of "Asian drivers of global changes" (Alam, 2017).

India advances its military strength with nuclear capability missile system, and advanced technological weapons and at the same time makes joint ventures with countries to exercise military partnership. Its diplomacy enriching in terms of its soft power, culture, diaspora, maintaining democratic ethos and so on. Consequently, India's image has been recognized worldwide as a rising state. On one side, India's long pending demand for a permanent seat in United Nations Security Council got huge support from the international level but remains unfulfilled now as well as the membership of the Nuclear Supplier Group too.

India will need to significantly strengthen its position on the metrics of comprehensive national power, particularly its economic growth, military capability, a comprehensive foreign policy, critical strategic issues, and national security if it is to realise its dream of playing a significant role in world politics (Dhanda, 2018).

Theoretical Perspectives on Global Governance and World Order

It is evident that global governance and order are related to each other. Intentionally, there are many frameworks

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designed to regulate the global affairs, 'governance obviously shapes the nature of the prevailing global order' (Rosenau, 1992). The concept of global governance emerges as there is no world government, all states are sovereign enjoy their respective powers, so global governance acted as a nexus among all the states to maintain rules-based order with the help of political coordination and problem-solving capabilities which cut cross state and society (Rosenau, 2000).

Here, we put focus on three theoretical perspectives of global governance. Firstly, for functionalists, it is a tool to make a summation of all formal and informal systems, and it is beneficial for those who created such systems (Young, 1999). The other perspective considers global governance as a journey from the Westphalian system to the post-Westphalian world order whereas the difference pointed out here is the Westphalian world system, the decision made by international organizations and agreements reached without any constraint but in the post-Westphalian order, it requires legitimacy and accountability for its agreements and to count on all states either its directly affected or far beyond the concerning party (Dingwerth & Pattberg, 2009).

The rest considers that when states lost their prominence then they try to make a 'rather messy arena' in the form of global governance which set in motion to create of more diverse groups by employing multiple actors on global stage and put efforts into novel mechanism (Rosenau, 1990).

The analysis of global governance is sometimes considered as the regulation of all global affairs acted as privatization, that is, it revise the demarcation line between the public and private sphere (Held & McGrew, 2002). In theory, global governance is considered simpler in descriptive aspects: Its account for a large analytical approach to crack down the central question of political role in globalised world namely 'who rules, in whose interests, by what mechanisms, and for what purposes' (Held & McGrew, 2002).

Some scholars like Falk (1995) reconstitutes the understanding of global governance that the idea of sovereign status of nation states take back seat and would be futile as well (Gilpin, 2001). Other scholars whose work is more towards normative approach they considered global governance as distorted in nature, as it proliferates the interests of powerful states and restricts the concern of global security. So, for them, global governance is a deliberate step to distort the current framework of nation-states and create inequalities among the states (Held & McGrew, 2002).

Indeed, when the institutional framework of global governance is to be used 'in which struggles over wealth, power and knowledge are taking' then the whole ethical and academic purpose found no place. So, the critics point out that the clouds of neo-liberal ideology on the institutional design of global governance could not make efficient and effective steps to blur the line between rich states and poor states despite the fact that it plays its role in promoting democracy across the world (Murphy, 2000).

India and Global Governance

India always stands for the sovereignty of states which is one of the core principle of global governance and international relations (Murthy, 2014). India and other emerging states prefer such framework of global governance where states play a key role on International Government Organizations and all international agreements come from there (Kahler, 2013).

Several scholars observed that India's stance on global governance make a shift on global forums as its global profile grows. Mohan (2010, p. 138) notes that 'change might be on the way as India begins to adapt, even if incrementally, to its increased weight in the international system and the responsibilities that come with it (Murthy, 2014). In order to justify its newfound importance, India is embarking on an ambitious mission to recast important intergovernmental forums, particularly the UN Security Council in the international arena (Mohan, 2010; Schaffer, 2009).

After the Second World War, India acted as a player who was very much passionate about global affairs (Bhagavan, 2013). At a time when the world was coming out from the clutches of war, and colonialism, India was one among them who made a path itself by the name non-aligned but equally acted as a responsible state party on Global platform (Pant, 2017).

Issues and Challenges

India has a lot of difficulties on the international stage. Knowing the complexity of modern international relations, striking a balance between unilateralism and multilateralism, and dealing with nuclear energy security issues, the threat of global terrorism, and finally denial of big powers' attitude towards a developing India (Dhanda, 2018). The legitimacy issue with international institutions is frequently used as a prism through which to view challenges to global governance. At a descriptive level, these institutions can impose their will on Nation-States, or national governments, but it does not address the legality of their decisions. In terms of normative concepts, the question of whether these institutions of

global governance are legitimate is who is the enforcer, who is enforced over whom, and under what fair conditions? Does the WTO, the UN, or any other important institution adhere to democratic principles? Global Governance has been a significant component of multinational enterprises since the Second World War, directly reflecting the interests of superpowers.

For a long time, non-democratic practices in global governance were mostly seen as an academic issue (Dahl, 1994). India's reaction to the global governance system has faced three challenges. First, with systematic restrictions that prevent India from being treated as a prominent participant despite its potential in organizations like permanent membership in the UN Security Council, it becomes difficult for India to assert its place in world issues. India is a responsible nuclear power, yet its voice has not been heard in the elite Nuclear Suppliers Group, which regulates the international export of enriched uranium and other nuclear device components.

The arrogance of the West in handling India's sovereign issues is the second obstacle that the global governance system imposes on India. Issues like buying oil from Russia or entering trade agreements with Iran and China(during Trump presidency) and other nations that are subject to Western sanctions hamper India's ability to pursue its own foreign policy and cast doubt on it. India, however, has continued its sovereign habit of striking a balance between the two sides, much like it did during the Cold War.

Third, India's admission into institutions that are alternative to those in the West presents particular difficulties. Due of geopolitical rivalries between developing nations like China and India, for example, India cannot take the burden of cooperating with China's destructive objectives. India's position on cooperation with China is historically analogous, i.e., strategic autonomy. When India decides to leave the One China Belt and Road plan, it would face criticism from both China and the other cooperative nations that are a part of the effort.

Due to China's majority of its European partners' disregard for India's sovereign claim to Gilgit-Baltistan, through which the project traverses, and the fact that the effort was supposed to promote development and advancement, India's position is made weak and somewhat vulnerable. Due to China's aggressive economic and strategic policies, India too has some qualms about entering the RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership). Global

governance is no longer only dominated by the west; China's initiatives, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, the BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation, the Asian Development Bank, ASEAN Plus, and others, all hold great promise for the future.

The last two decades in Asia seem to have been controlled by China, making it difficult for India to resist China's hegemonic impact on both global and regional governance. When it comes to any global governance cooperation, China's hostility presents a significant challenge for India that eventually threatens its strategic and national interests. Global governance will experience a bipolar system, similar to how international politics dealt with the Balance of Power (Xuetong, n.d.).

The performance of the United Nations has been disappointing. However, no one can dispute the fact that today's world requires more UN members than fewer. The threat level and complexity of the security environment have increased since 1945. In 1945, only nations posed a threat to one another; however, today, non-state actors too become a part of it. Security and development issues require global governance, and the United Nations is one such forum. However, institutional and operational adjustments are required for the UN to carry out its mandate. Reform's primary goal is to improve something.

Concluding Remarks

India's support visible in the UN Security Council and so reflects India's desire for international recognition.as a "primary responsible power". It is obvious that the complexity of the modern world exposes the shortcomings of the methods and techniques that are now in use and Kofi Annan once termed it as "problems without passports". In addition to states and intergovernmental organisations from within and across nations, global governance symbolises the evolving but effort to include new parties. The number of participants in "global" governance has increased, expanding the range of stakeholders beyond governments. For nations like India, this situation presents both fresh opportunities and challenges.

On one side, it is increasing its participation outside of the conventional multilateral international channels. On the other side, it is faced with the issue of selecting between the unproven multi-stakeholder and the unreformed intergovernmental multilateral approaches to manage international affairs. The issues and challenges of India and Global Governance acted as an illustration to draw attention of India's policy responses. The following years will direct efforts to create the most

effective and practical method for governing. Despite not being the ideal venue, the UN appears to be best positioned to manage this transition by negotiating the orderly transfer of authority and other organizations into a new international multi-stakeholder treaty-based agency.

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Work-Life Balance of Female Workforce in Assam's Primary Education Sector

Dr. Munshi Ram* & Rubelsha Shabong**

[In today's modern global era responsibilities of teachers are increasing rapidly. Teachers are also assessed from time to time in their contribution to social life along with their teaching skills and important learning activities. In India, women perform the same professional responsibilities in education work as men, but their work is not limited to this, apart from this, they have to perform many unpaid responsibilities also. Nowadays women have become more visible and powerful in building society and nations. Due to increased work pressure, achieving a work-life balance is very essential to maintain a good quality of life in both the working environment and in personal life. An unbalanced working environment causes physical health problems as well as mental stress. To find out the work-life balance among women teachers in the primary education sector of Assam, a total of 155 women data were collected through questionnaire methods and it was found that 87% female workforce are satisfied with their job. But it also felt that there is a need to redesign work-life balance policies and programs at the organizational level for better productivity and healthy professional and personal life.]

The term work-life balance was first used in the United Kingdom in the late 1970s to define the balance between an individual's work and personal life. Work-life balance refers to whether a person has enough time to take care of themselves or not – such as exercising and relaxing after work, spending time with friends, relatives and family, personal Growth and Spirituality in addition to working hours. Achieving work-life balance benefits not only workers but also employers in many ways, as workers are internally and externally motivated, they increase organizational output (Byrne Una, 2005) hence to achieve work-life-balance workers needs to manage their professional work with their personal life.

In ancient India, women's work was limited to the kitchen, very few of them were educated at that time and their main responsibility was to look after children and families, but this conventional mind-set of people started reducing as the literacy rate increased. More women have come forward in helping their families with financial benefits for the betterment of the family. Education helped them to cope in this competitive world and to boost their brainpower in building their career and goals. Working women play a double role as they have to manage both professional duties and household duties.

Indian earning women still work under the many social limitations, playing a dual role as women is not an easy task, the family's responsibility and work's responsibility with achieving the target is a very challenging task. This can cause physical as well as mental stress, and health problem and reduce their productivity and creativity. Many employed females grappled to find work and life

balance in life with pressure from husbands, family and friends (Sherwani, 1984).

In countries like the US, the gender pay gap remains relatively constant, but the pandemic further affected the gender pay gap in India. India ranked 108th in the World Economic Forum's (WEF, GGR, 2018) gender gap index in 2018 still Indian women play a vital role in today's economy. Due to the long working period and work pressure load, dual-income earners face more problems if the working period for men and women have coincided, it becomes more strained.

Behaviour, timing, and stress are the three major factors that contribute significantly to work-life conflict (Greenhaus and Boutel, 1985). Women working in primary education have to devote more time to prepare themselves for the job more effectively and according to the requirement of young children, due to which women engaged in this occupation have to face different problems.

It is not an easy task for a woman to manage both worklife and job satisfaction based on professional pride, personal satisfaction and conforming to the HR policies of the organization. Heavy workload will lead such women to depression and mental illness, which can lead to divorce and infertility in large numbers (Dhawala et al. 2018).

Literature Review

A proportionate professional and personal life can bring a good and healthy relationship to individuals and families as a whole. Due to massive work pressure, women in the education sector don't get enough time in taking care of themselves. Psychological health, mental health, and gynaecological health affect the work-life of women employees and show a negative relationship with balanced life (Sujata and Singh, 2011). Flexible working hours and work-life balance policies

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implemented by educational institutions make women employees more energetic, and capable of work, thereby contributing efficiently to the success of the organisation.

The goal of understanding and seeing different aspects of balance professional and personal life was measured firstly by Western European and Anglo-Saxon countries (Chandra, 2012), followed by Eastern European countries (Schafer et al., 2011). Women with younger children face problems in engaging to work at the perfect time as they would have to look after their baby and satisfy their needs also. In this situation, women who are balancing their work and personal lives better contribute more to organizational success (Nirmala, 2013).

Change in the workforce, work overload has a serious impact on working women such as mental health problems, stress, anxiety and physical well-being. Women need to adjust and manage both work inside and outside of the house and at work. Work-life adjustment is important for individuals' success, and affiliations' execution in a working society (Grady et al., 2008). Work-life parity has been defined differently by different researchers like Fron, Greenhaus and Clark (2000) suggested the term 'work-family modified'.

"Hochschild (1997) has observed that to enhance commitment to an organization, the promotion of work-life balance policies is of a compulsory interest to the institution". Job satisfaction will be more for men as they can neglect their family and spend all of their time his work, but women are more concerned about their family and their children, they will get disappointed when they don't get timely, so Work-Life Balance seems more challenging to female than to Men. Working men and women in India experience greater prosperity in family life compare to family conflict (Baral, 2010).

Panisoara and Sarban (2013) examined the effect of marital status on work-life balance while Shelton et al (2008) explored challenges faced by managerial positions in managing work. Travelling to and from work long distances wastes time, which can be balanced with

planned and individual effort. A study on the work-life balance of female teaching staff found that 81 percent of married female school teachers are working after marriage primarily because of financial problems (Dhavala et al, 2019).

The labour force participation rate is an important indicator that reflects the active workforce of an economy. Time has changed, along with men, and women have also started fulfilling the financial responsibilities of the family well. In 2020, about 19 percent of women in India were in the labour force (Statista, 2022). Working women must balance work and personal life for building a better society. When the employee puts more effort and works hard, his efficiency and the productivity of the organization will increase. It concludes that there are many challenging problems in balancing the personal life and professional life of working women in the education sector because working women are playing a dual role in life.

The objective of the study

- To identify demographic and other variable factors to understand the work-life balance.
- To find out the effect of work pressure on the personal and professional lives of teachers
- To study the role of family and society to maintain proper work-life balance

Method and Materials

The study is based on the primary data collected through questionnaires and interview discussions with female teachers at various schools, as well as secondary data from various journals, books, research publications, and articles. To get psychometric responses for a level of agreement Likert's five-point scale was used (Agree, disagree, strongly disagree, strongly agree, neither agree nor disagree) and structured questionnaires were circulated relating to Work-Life Balance at several School teachers at various educational workplaces. The data collected from the questionnaires were analysed using different statistical tools.

Result and Discussion

Employee Perception on work-life balance through questionnaires survey:

Questions	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Neither agrees nor disagree
Are you satisfied with your current academic working hours?	83	15	2	-	-
Are you completely satisfied with your current work-life balance?	83	13	4	-	-
I prioritize my family and personal life over my work.	60	27	7	3	3
Do your managers and co-workers positively contribute to the work environment	67	18	5	7	3
Does your work schedule allow you to spend quality time with your friends and family?	56	29	4	11	i
Do you feel that your colleagues in other departments have	63	23	6	4	4

a healthy work-life balance?								
How often do you work even on holidays?	78	12	10	ı	-			
Do you often feel the need to take the departmental work home?	78	11	9	2	-			
Do you deprive yourself of attending any urgent private event due to overwork?	70	23	7	-	-			

As per the study, it was found that 69% of working females are satisfied with their work in the primary education sector compare to other sectors. 72 % of People are more cooperative and participative in the education sector compared to the other sector, when the surrounding environments are more participative and helpful there is a high chance of job satisfaction. Job satisfaction could positively change human behaviour, individuals will be kinder, creative, more productive, having a healthy lifestyle in both physical and mental well-being. Respecting and recognizing each at the workplace and sharing their personal experience can help each other in balancing their work.

But it also noticed that many people don't prefer to share their struggle in balancing the demands of their family roles and the demands of their job. In the education sector, mental stress is higher compared to physical stress but it works oppositely in the other sectors. If the offer of time set for work can be chosen by the employee, they would feel more responsible for their job and work hard to achieve the targeted goals due to preferred time work. 67% of people prioritize their time with family.

It was also observed that if the Heads of the institution are more cooperative and helpful, the female employees feel more satisfied and loyal to their job even in times of trouble and difficulties. It is found that 87 per cent of respondents strongly agree that they are satisfied with education sector jobs as they get support from their working environment, average salary, flexible working period, supportive family and friends, good sleeping hours and enough quality time in spending at home.

During the study, we found that several personal factors as well as professional factors, affect the balance between work and life like education level, age difference, individual physical difference, individual capability to deal with the work that they were assigned, marital status, family income and background, working hours, and work stress. Women being the childbearing and children responsible person at home face more problems in work and family life. The way of maintaining a work-life balance for women is different from men, as women sacrifice more at work for home commitment but men sacrifice less at home and spend more time at professional work.

During the study, it was noticed that "newly Married females give more preference to their personal lives compared to their professional life (Martins et al., 2002)". Nevertheless, Workfamily conflict is more in married women compared to the non-married worker but the nature of conflict is not criminal types. Mothers with new-borns or teenagers face more work-to-family conflict. "Older parents play a greater role in WLB (Tausig and Fenwick, 2001)".

To improve work-life balance, the organization has to follow certain role models which make workers satisfied, free from stress, lighter work, good communication, flexible working hours, better supervision etc. Work-life balance improves productivity and job performance for both organization and employees, employees will be more loyal to the organization and feel stress-free to enjoy their personal life as well as professional life with better job satisfaction.

Conclusion

The study concludes that the work-life balance of working women in the primary Education Sector is significantly imbalanced but it can be maintained by the support of family members, helping friends, close relatives, spouses, working place adjustment, supervision, and departmental colleagues. The working time should be flexible so that employees feel free from stress and anxiety. For safely and healthy workplace, the employers and the employees should show a good attitude towards each other.

Work overload, rigid work hours, negative attitude from the working environment, and negative attitude from the Supervisor lead to work-life imbalance. All working women play a dual role in the professional sector and at home, due to the double burden of work, there is a need to redesign work-life balance policies and programs at the organizational level.

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Loanable Funds and Actual Lending of New Generation Banks

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[The growing trend of banking services is found significant after the new economic reforms in India. Today, India has a fairly well developed banking system with different classes of banks – public sector banks, foreign banks, private sector banks – both old and new generation, regional rural banks and co-operative banks with the Reserve Bank of India as the fountain Head of the system. Nowadays banking sector acts as a backbone of Indian economy which reflects as a supporter during the period of boom and recession. Today the banking industry has been experiencing a totally unexpected paradigm shift, and in this age of advanced technology and modern resources the bankers have to first properly define what a new generation banks is as there is no definition that exists, that defines what a new generation bank/banking is and how they can be operated in a sustainable manner not just witnessing profit. But, witnessing existence on a long run for a better tomorrow. This paper studies the loanable funds and actual lendings of New Generation Banks. This study has been made choosing three sample banks for the period of 10 years from 2009-10 to 2018-19.]

he commercial banking industry in India has been playing a very important role in intermediating between the economic units, which have surpluses and deficits in their current budgets. By mobilizing financial surpluses in the economy and by channeling these resources into various sectors and segments of the economy, they are guiding the pattern of utilisation of a large proportion of the economy. The Government of India which owns a large segment of the industry, and the RBI, which is the central banking authority of the country, have been persuading the commercial banks to deploy larger and larger volumes of financial resources into certain identified priority sectors, for the purpose of accelerating the growth of these sectors. The total advances of commercial banks include bills purchased and discounted, cash credits, overdrafts, loans, unsecured loans, and priority sector advances. The management of this asset is a very important aspect in the banking sector. The non-performing asset in banks is increasing. In addition to this, banks are exposed to various risks such as credit risk, liquidity risk, market risk and operational risk.

Discussion

The sources of funds for lending activities for a bank are: owned funds, deposits and borrowings. To maintain comfortable liquidity, only 75 per cent of owned funds are taken as loanable funds. Further, in order to maintain CRR and SLR with reference to total demand and time liabilities of banks, only 70 per cent of deposits is taken as loanable funds. A total borrowing is taken as loanable funds, Based on this general practise, the data for the sample banks have been calculated and tabulated. Out of nine newgeneration banks in India, three banks have been choosen for this study using random sampling method.

Part one of the table presents comparative picture of loanable funds and actual lending of ICICI bank. The study of the data provided in the table brings out the following inference. The decades average total loanable funds for ICICI bank has been Rs. 477716.29 crores and the average funds utilised for actual lending for the decades of study has been Rs. 370596.46 crores. Thus on an average for the decades ICICI bank has utilised around 77.58 percent of its average loanable funds for its average actual lending activities for the decade. Though ICICI bank has utilised on an average around 75 percent of its average loanable funds for actual lending during the first half of the decade, the percentage of utility of loanable funds for lending has increased in the second half of the decade.

Part two of the table provides about loanable funds and actual lending of AXIS bank which brings out of the following inferences: Loanable funds for Axis bank has been taken as the total of its whole borrowings, 70 percent of its deposits and 75 percent of its owned funds, based on the general practise in banking sector. The average of total loanable funds of Axis bank for the decade has been Rs. 329299.60 crores and the average of actual lending for the decade has been Rs. 277091.76 crores. Thus, ICICI bank, on an average for the decade, has utilised 84.15 percent of its loanable funds for its lending activities. Axis bank has gradually increased its percentage of utilities of its loanable funds during the decade. Thus, Axis bank utilised 81.45 percent of its loanable funds for its lending activities in 2009 -10 and the utility percentage has increased annually and has become 86.94 percent in 2015-16, in the subsequent years, ie., from 2016-2017, Axis bank has reduced its percentage utility of loanable funds for its lending activities. However, the utility percentage has been kept above the decade's average (84.15) during the end years of the decade. Based on the practise followed in banking sectors, the loanable funds for Yes bank has been calculated as the total of its entire borrowings funds, 70

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percent of its deposits and 75 percent of its owned funds. The above table provides the data regarding the loanable funds and actual funds utilised for lending activities for decade of study.

Part three of the table is about YES bank which brings out the following inferences: The average amount of loanable funds of Yes bank for the decade of the study has been Rs.116698.71 crores and the average of actual funds utilised for its lending activities has been Rs. 94811.64 crores. This indicates that, on an average, Yes bank has utilised 81.24 percent of its average loanable

funds for its actual lending activities during the decade of study. During the mid-years of the decade, the percentage utility of loanable funds for actual lending by Yes bank, (i.e., from 2011-12 to 2014-15 (4 years) has been less than the decade's average level (81.24 per cent) Yes bank has increased its actual lending in 2016-17 utilising around 85.26 per cent of its loanable funds, However, the utility percentage has come down to 83.85 per cent in 2018-19, the end year of the decade. During the last four years of the decade, the utility percentage of Yes bank has been above the decade's average (81.24)

Loanable Funds and Actual Lending of New Generation Banks

Rs. in Cr.

Year		ICICI BAN	IK	AXIS BANK			YES BANK		
	Total loanable	Actual lending	Loaning %	Total loanable funds	Actual lending	Loaning %	Total loanable funds	Actual lending	Loaning (%)
2009-10	2,74,388.97	1,81,205.60	66.04	1,28,113.17	1,04,343.12	81.45	25,825.24	22,193.12	85.94
2010-11	3,49,708.60	2,56,019.31	73.21	1,72,983.47	1,42,407.83	82.32	41,693.72	34,363.64	82.42
2011-12	3,64,318.81	2,53,727.66	69.64	2,05,251.09	1,69,759.54	82.71	52,070.16	37,988.64	72.96
2012-13	4,00,200.50	2,90,249.44	72.53	2,45,611.51	1,96,965.96	80.19	72,146.77	46,999.57	65.14
2013-14	4,42,008.61	3,38,702.65	76.63	2,75,617.51	2,30,066.76	83.47	78,590.00	55,632.96	70.79
2014-15	4,85,833.28	3,87,522.07	79.76	3,38,975.01	2,81,083.03	82.92	98,780.69	75,549.82	76.48
2015-16	5,37,107.06	4,35,263.94	81.04	3,89,677.36	3,38,773.72	86.94	1,20,173.69	98,209.93	81.72
2016-17	5,65,546.80	4,64,232.08	82.09	4,36,917.93	3,73,069.35	85.39	1,55,136.61	1,32,262.68	85.26
2017-18	6,54,410.47	5,12,395.29	78.30	5,13,136.00	4,39,650.30	85.68	2,34,689.99	2,03,518.83	86.72
2018-19	7,03,639.77	5,86,646.58	83.37	5,86,712.94	4,94,797.97	84.33	2,87,880.20	2,41,397.19	83.85
Average	4,77,716.29	3,70,596.46	77.58	3,29,299,60	2,77,091.76	84.15	1,16,698.71	94,811.64	81.24
CV			9.70		2.47				9.34
ACGR			2.62		0.39				-0.27

Conclusion

The average lending by the sample banks as secured advances has been around 73 to 80 percent of their respective total advances. Consequently 20 to 27 percent of advances of the banks are unsecured advances. Government of India and RBI insist banks to provide credit to priority sector in order to help the rural and semi-urban people, who are engaged in indigenous village and college industries, small engineering service industries, micro, small and medium enterprises, etc., To encourage private banks, particularly, the new generation private banks, RBI has redefined priority sector by including more medium scale industries and enterprises under this category. Further RBI provides credit guarantee through authorized credit Guarantee Corporation.

Therefore, the sample banks, have to deploy more funds towards priority sector advances and help the rural and semi-urban youth to start and stand up as successful entrepreneurs, The ministry of MSME (Micro Small and Medium Enterprises) provides subsidy for schematic lending's to priority sector borrowers. On an average for the decade, ICICI bank, Axis bank and Yes bank have utilized around 78 percent, 86 percent and 81 percent

of their respective loanable fund for actual lending as advances. During the same decade, the banks have used around 166 percent, 123 percent and 165 percent of their respective investible funds for their actual investments. Thus, it is learnt that the banks have used their unutilized portion and more than that towards actual investments. Deployment of funds towards investments beyond a certain limit may result in reduction of interest income. Therefore banks must improve the efficiency of their credit management so as to utilize 100 percent of their respective loanable funds for making advances.

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ICT Integration in Mathematics Teaching: A Study on Secondary Schools of Thoubal District of Manipur

Mrs. M.Abhilasha* Dr. M. Nawaz Khan**& Prof. Sahin Ahmed***

[With a vision for quality enhancement of education at school level, the Indian central and state governments launched various Information Communication Technology (ICT) schemes. However, the effective teaching of mathematics via ICT remains ever elusive in frontier states like Manipur thanks to various detrimental factors. This paper presents the findings of a research study on the factors that influenced the ICT incorporation in mathematics teaching in secondary school level in Thoubal District of Manipur.]

Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) are pervasive in the society in today's digital age even as LCD projector, smart board, computer, tablet, smart phone, internet etc. have become a common place in most educational institutions. According to John Pisapia (1994), using ICT in pedagogy can improve education in several ways. It can re-enforce teaching learning process thereby improving learner motivation and engagement, knowledge retention, encouraging individual learning and collaboration while students and teachers can develop various other ICT skills. So, the use of ICT in classroom was given priority for holistic development of education in India. Both the central and state governments launched various schemes like Education Technology (ET) Scheme, Computer Literacy and Studies in Schools (CLASS) scheme, Information, and Communication Technology (ICT) for School scheme at different times with a vision for improving the quality of school education. However, effective use of ICT in mathematics teaching (MT) remains ever elusive in Indian frontier states like Manipur thanks to various detrimental factors, leave alone districts like Thoubal District of the state.

Many research findings on the importance of ICTs in school education and factors affecting their classroom integration and adoption in mathematics teaching were reviewed. From the review of literature, it was concluded that there was paucity in literature on ICT usage in mathematics teaching in secondary school in Thoubal district of Manipur as no research work has been done in this area. Nevertheless, it was observed that there was low utilization of ICTs in most of the secondary schools in Thoubal district of Manipur, particularly in mathematics teaching. So, it was significant to identify the factors that caused scant ICT usage among mathematics teachers with an aim to suggest remedial measures to remove the factors that were responsible

for inadequate usage of ICT in mathematics teaching in secondary schools in Thoubal district of Manipur.

Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the study were-

- 1. To identify the factors affecting ICT usage in mathematics teaching in secondary schools in Thoubal District of Manipur.
- To suggest measures for addressing the factors affecting the ICT usage in mathematics teaching in the district.

Methodology

The study adopted a survey method to investigate the factors that negatively affected ICT usage in mathematics teaching in secondary schools in Thoubal District of Manipur. The study was conducted in the 107 schools of the district, both government and private, which offered mathematics up to Class IX and Class X. Out of the total number of schools, 6 were Government Higher Secondary Schools, 23 were Government High Schools, 13 were Govt. Aided High Schools, 9 were Private Higher Secondary Schools and 56 were Private High Schools.

Population and Sample

The population of the study was all the mathematics teachers in the 107 government, aided and private high / higher secondary schools located in Thoubal District during the academic year 2018-19 and 2019-20. At the time of the study there were 186 mathematics teachers in the District teaching at secondary schools. A sample of 126 mathematics teachers was randomly selected from the population through simple random sampling method with 95% Confidence Level and 5% Error of Margin using online sample size calculator.

Data Collection

The primary data were collected from the respondents by administering a structured questionnaire, which contained closed questions and was designed to investigate the factors negatively affecting ICT usage in mathematics teaching. The questionnaire was divided into different sections - 1. Teachers' access to ICT, 2. Teachers' ICT usage in classroom, 3. Extent of ICT

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integration in teaching, 4. Teachers' skill in using ICTs, 5. Training on ICT-I, 6. Mathematics-specific training on ICT use, 7. Teachers' attitudes towards ICT use in mathematics teaching, and 8. Barriers to ICT Amalgamation in mathematics teaching (MT). And the secondary data were collected from various sources including government records, articles, journals etc.

Results and Discussion

Teachers' Access to ICT

Regular access to relevant ICT and equipment resources in schools is one of the most significant factors that help decide whether teachers use them in classroom teaching or not. On the basis of their responses, 69.05 percent of the teachers said they had access to ICT hardware in their schools while 30.95 percent said that they did not have access to adequate ICT hardware. As majority of the respondents had access to ICT hardware, they could have integrated ICT in their teaching. This indicates that unavailability of ICT hardware is not a factor affecting adoption of ICT in mathematics teaching (MT) in these schools.

Teachers' ICT Usage in Classroom

Teachers including those who use ICT tools in their daily personal life may not use these tools in classroom for teaching and learning purpose. Those who use them were asked about their ICT usage in classroom. On the basis of their responses the frequency of the respondents shows that only 10.95 percent of the respondents used Computer/ Laptop frequently in class while 17.46 percent used them occasionally and 17.18 percent of the respondents used them rarely and 54.76 percent of them never used computer or laptop in the classroom. Only 01.58 percent of the respondents used LCD projector very frequently and 12.69 percent used them frequently while a huge 57.14 percent never used LCD projector in the classroom. A huge 63.49 percent of the respondents never used Smart Board, 92.06 percent of them never used mathematics software and 81.74 percent never used graphical applications in the classroom. Only 10.95 percent of the respondents used courseware very frequently in the class, 02.38 percent used PPT and 10.31 percent of them used online materials in the classroom.

Extent of ICT integration in Teaching

Different teachers use different ICT tools in teaching mathematics in varying extent. The respondents were asked about the extent of ICT-Integration in their teaching. On the basis of their response, the distribution of the respondents from the data show that the level of using ICT in teaching was very low and no teacher could integrate ICT fully in the class. Majority of the respondents (86.51%) said they have not integrated ICT in their teaching at all while 13.49 percent of them said they have integrated ICT to some extent.

Respondents' Skills in Using ICTs

Adequate exposure to ICTs can motivate teachers in using ICT in their teaching, but their skills and ability to use ICT certainly influence ICT integration in mathematics pedagogy. On the basis of their responses the frequency of the respondents shows that 79.63 percent of the teachers said their ICT skill was poor and 23.81 percent of them said their skill was good in using ICT while only 05.56 percent of the teachers stated that they have very good skills in using ICTs. The findings show that majority of the respondents had poor skills and ability in using ICT which can be a factor negatively affecting proper integration of ICT in their mathematics teaching (MT).

Teachers' Training on ICT Integration

Providing ICT tools in schools alone does not transform teaching practices if the teachers are not enabled to transform their teaching practices. So, providing teachers' training on ICT is essential for successful integration of ICT in classroom teaching. On the basis of their responses the frequency of the respondents shows that 62.70 percent of the respondents said that they did not receive training on ICT integration in teaching while 37.30 percent of the people believed that they completed the training on ICT-I in teaching. Secondary data about training also show that only a few institutions had provided ICT training in the district. The lack of training on ICT integration is a probable factor affecting successful integration of ICT as majority of the respondents who did not get training on ICT integration said that they never use ICT at all in their teaching. This finding is consolidated by earlier studies that argue that together with other factors training is a strong predicting factor of ICT use in classrooms.

Mathematics-Specific Training on ICT use

Mathematics teachers should be trained in mathematics-specific ICT tools and applications for successful integration in their teaching. Without developing their mathematics-related ITC skills and knowledge through mathematics-specific training on ICT, their integration in classroom teaching may not be fully realized. On the basis of their responses, the frequency of the respondents in the data show that out of the total number of teachers who were trained for ICT integration, 80.85 percent said that they did not receive adequate mathematics-specific ICT training while only 19.15percent of them said that they had received mathematics-specific ICT training. This indicated that tack of mathematics-specific ICT training could be a factor that affects integration of ICT in MT.

Teachers' Attitudes towards ICT Use in Mathematics Teaching

One of the main factors affecting the successful integration of ICT is teachers' attitude towards ICT use in mathematics teaching. On the basis of their responses, the distribution of the respondents from the data show that majority of the respondents (61.32%) have negative

attitude towards the use of ICT in MT. Only 25.39 percent of the respondents had positive attitude while 14.29 percent of the respondents had neutral attitude towards the use of ICT in MT. Hence, the negative attitude of teachers could be a factor in determining whether they integrate ICT in MT or not. This observation supports the findings of other educations that there is a link between the teacher's attitudes towards technology and the chances of their integrating ICT into MT.

Barriers to ICT Integration in Mathematics Teaching

In addition to major factors affecting ICT-I in MT, the teachers must have been facing other barriers to ICT-I in MT. The distribution of the respondents on the basis of their responses show that majority of the participants (94.44%) identified a major barrier to ICT usage in teaching being their lack of knowledge about ICT integration while 85.71percent said lack of technical support for ICT-I was another barrier. While 84.13 percent of the respondents said unavailability of necessary resources at home was a barrier, 72.22 percent of them said they faced time constraint in using ICT in the allotted duration of a class. Only 29.37 percent identified unavailability of adequate ICT tools at School as a barrier and 37.30 percent of them said unavailability of adequate software was a barrier. So, these could be other probable factors that might have affected the effective integration of ICT in MT.

Conclusions

The use of ICT in MT can be beneficial to both students and teachers as it is more effective in making the concepts clear while enhancing knowledge and skills of the students in their learning. Nevertheless, ICT-I in teaching mathematics has its own share of problems as various detrimental factors affect the process. The study found that most secondary schools in Thoubal district of Manipur have adequate ICT hardware but inadequate and poor training on ICT integration, lack of mathematics-specific ICT training, unavailability of necessary software and teachers' negative attitude towards using ICT were some of the major factors that negatively affected the adoption and utilization of ICT in their mathematics pedagogy. Besides, not knowing how to use ICT in teaching resulted into lack of confidence among teachers during ICT integration, unavailability of necessary educational materials and constrain of time in using ICT during the allocated period of a class were other probable factors that discouraged teachers from ICT integration resulting into poor usage of ICT in MT in schools in the district. It is also observed that these identified factors do not operate independently. So, to get the proper benefits of ICT-I in mathematics teaching, measures should be taken up to address these negative factors which will go long way in achieving more effective and successful ICT usage in MT.

Suggestions

In light of the above findings the study suggests some measures to enable successful usage of ICT in teaching mathematics in secondary level schools. Teachers should be provided with a set of enabling conditions for ICT use because introduction and availability of ICTs alone will not transform teaching practices of teachers. ICT integration calls for not only technical skills but also the development of appropriate pedagogical practices. So, teachers should be trained to identify and use the suitable ICT tools according to their teaching situations. In addition to the ICT hardware already provided to the schools, the government should provide adequate mathematics-specific ICT software besides providing mathematics specific ICT training to the teachers. Good quality training on ICT integration should be organized for professional development of the teachers and to address their ICT self-efficacy issues and negative attitudes towards ICT use in teaching mathematics. As most of the government high schools in the district are unable to utilize ICT tools provided to them, the competent authority at Zonal level should check the concerned schools periodically and oversee the usage of ICT in teaching.

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Customer Satisfaction towards BSNL Services in Kumbakonam

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[Credit for the invention of the electric telephone is frequently disputed, and new controversies over the issue have arisen from time to time. The early history of the telephone became and still remains a confusing morass of claims and counters claims, were not clarified by the huge mass of lawsuits to resolve the patent claims of many individuals and commercial competitors. In the present millennium a new technological advancement has hit the communication The study mainly aims at the customers of the study is to evaluate the services rendered by the BSNL in Kumbakonam. The study is based on both primary as well as secondary data. Most of the customers have expressed that they are dissatisfied over the customer grievance redressal mechanism. BSNL has to set up more customer care centers. BSNL ought to think differently to beat their future competitors.]

Bharat Sanchar Nigam Ltd was incorporated on 15th September 2000. It took over the business of providing of telecom services and network management from the while central government Department of Telecom Services (DTS) and Department of Telecom Operations (DTO), with effect from 1st October 2000 on going concern basis. It is one of the largest & leading public sector units providing comprehensive range of telecom services in India.

BSNL has installed Quality Telecom Network in the country & now focusing on improving it, expanding the network, introducing new telecom services with ICT applications in villages & winning customer's confidence.

Statement of the problem

Landline services are one of the profiles earning business like any other business. Landline services compulsory for businessmen and professionals, without timely information businessmen suffer a lot. Landline services have become an integral part of the growth, success and efficiency of a business or economy; because users recognize that landline services alone can improve. Productivity and enhance safety. Digital network has improved the quality of services provided by mobile network.

As such there are three major landline services companies are rendering telecom services in Thanjavur district. They are Reliance, BSNL and Airtel and these are authorized by the Central Government. These three are competing with each other in rendering telecom services to public. Like in any business the competition is neck to neck among these three. BSNL is wholly owned by Government of India.

Objectives of the Research

The study mainly aims at the customer's perception on BSNL services and the influencing factor which make the customer to choose particular services. Kumbakonam is one of the taluk of Thanjavur district. Further, the study is mainly understanding from the point of the customers. The study area is limited to Kumbakonam.

Methodology

The study is based on both primary as well as secondary data. The primary data were collected from the BSNL customers in Kumbakonam. The secondary data have been collected from books, journals, magazines, websites and other related sources. The researcher had carefully designed a questionnaire for the purpose of collection primary data. The primary data were collected with the help of interview schedule.

Sampling Design

Since the objectives of the study are to elicit the perception of the customers on BSNL services, the researcher has adopted convenience sampling technique for collected primary data. The primary data was collected from 60 respondents. Respondents were interviewed at their houses, BSNL office and customer retail shop. The researcher has taken much care to ensure that the sample group represents the study area.

Techniques for data analysis: The data is analyzed with "Simple analysis technique". The data tool is percentage method. Percentage method used in making comparison between two or more criteria. This method is used to describe relationship.

Percentage of respondents = No. of respondents / Total No. of respondents X I00

Findings: The major findings of the study are listed below

- Out of the 60 sample respondents, 43.33% belong to male category. The remaining 56.67% belong to female category.
- 11.67% of the respondents are in the age group of 20-40 years, 70% of the respondents within the age group of 40-60 years, 18.33% of them are in the age group 60 and above.

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- 21.67% of the respondents have H.S.C, 16.67% of the respondents have U.G Degree, 50% are doing P.G Degree category, while 11.66% of the respondents have Professional Degree category.
- 20% of the respondents are earning an income of less than Rs.10,000, 21.67% of them are earning an income Rs.10,001- Rs.20,000, 18.33% of the respondents are earning above Rs.20,001- Rs.30,000, 15% of the respondents are earning above Rs.30,001- Rs.40,000, while 25% of the respondents are earning above Rs.40,000.
- 77% of the respondents are using Mobile phone and 23% of the respondents are using Landline/ Broadband of BSNL.
- 43.33% of the respondents are Less than 5 years, 21.67% of the respondents are 5-10 years, 13.33% of the respondents are 15 years, 8.34% of the respondents are 15-20 years, and 13.33% of the respondents are more than 20 years.
- 35% of the respondents for the purpose or using the BSNL services for personal use, 15% of the respondents for the purpose or using BSNL services for business use, and majority 50% of the respondents for the purpose or using the BSNL services for personal use and business use.
- 20% of the respondents are less than 5 calls daily, 30% of the respondents are 6 to 10 calls and more than 20 calls, 15% of the respondents are 11 to 15 calls, and only 5% of the respondents are 16 to 20 calls.
- 18.33% of the respondents paid below Rs.500 as telephone charges, 6.67% of the respondents paid Rs.1001- Rs.1500 as telephone charges, 25% of the respondents paid Rs.1501- Rs.2000 as telephone charges, .6.67% of the respondents paid above Rs.2000 and majority 43.33% of the respondents paid Rs.501- Rs.1000 as telephone charges.
- 26.67% of the respondents are reasons for using convenience and minimum charges, 11.67% have respondents in using for status, only 18.33% of the respondents are in using for facilities.
- 38.33% of the respondents the level of satisfaction as satisfied, 3.33 % of the respondents the level of satisfaction as dissatisfied. The majority 58.34% of the respondents the level of satisfaction as highly satisfied.

TABLE

		No. of	%
		Respon	
Gender	Male	26	43.33%
	Female	34	56.67%
Age	20-40	7	11.67%
	40-60	42	70%
	Above 60	11	18.33%
Educational Qualification	H.S.C	13	21.67%

P.G Degree		U.G Degree	10	16.67%
Monthly Income Below Rs. 10000 12 20% Rs. 10001-Rs.20000 13 21.67% Rs. 20001-Rs.30000 11 18.33% Rs. 30001-Rs.40000 9 15% Above Rs. 40000 15 25% Type of Connection Landline/Broadband 14 23% Mobile Phone 46 77% Less than 5 years 26 43.33% 5-10 years 13 21.67% 10-15 years 8 13.33% 15-20 years 5 8.34% More than 20 years 8 13.33% Purpose of landline Personal use 21 35% Business use 9 15% Both 30 50% Usage per day Less than 5 Calls 12 20% 6-10 Calls 18 30% 11-15 Calls 18 30% 11-15 Calls 9 15% More the 20 Calls 18 30% Rs.501-Rs.1000 26 <td></td> <td>P.G Degree</td> <td>30</td> <td>50%</td>		P.G Degree	30	50%
Rs. 10001-Rs.20000 13 21.67%		Professional Degree	7	11.66%
Rs. 20001-Rs.30000 11 18.33% Rs. 30001-Rs.40000 9 15% Above Rs. 40000 15 25% Type of Connection Landline/Broadband 14 23% Mobile Phone 46 77% Usage of Period Less than 5 years 26 43.33% 5-10 years 13 21.67% 10-15 years 8 13.33% 15-20 years 5 8.34% More than 20 years 8 13.33% Purpose of landline Personal use 21 35% Both 30 50% Usage per day Less than 5 Calls 12 20% 6-10 Calls 18 30% 11-15 Calls 9 15% 16-20 Calls 18 30% 11-15 Calls 9 15% More the 20 Calls 18 30% Amount Spend Below Rs.500 11 18.33% Rs.501-Rs.1000 26 43.33% Rs.1501-Rs.2	Monthly Income	Below Rs. 10000	12	20%
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Above Rs. 40000 15 25%		Rs. 20001-Rs.30000	11	18.33%
Type of Connection Landline/Broadband Mobile Phone 14 23% Mobile Phone Usage of Period Less than 5 years 26 43.33% 5-10 years 13 21.67% 10-15 years 8 13.33% 15-20 years 5 8.34% More than 20 years 8 13.33% Purpose of landline Personal use 21 35% Business use 9 15% Both 30 50% Usage per day Less than 5 Calls 12 20% 6-10 Calls 18 30% 11-15 Calls 9 15% 16-20 Calls 18 30% 11-15 Calls 9 15% More the 20 Calls 18 30% Amount Spend Below Rs.500 11 18.33% Rs.501-Rs.1000 26 43.33% Rs.1501-Rs.2000 15 25% Above Rs.2000 4 6.67% Minimum Charges 16 26.67%	İ	Rs. 30001-Rs.40000	9	15%
Mobile Phone		Above Rs. 40000	15	25%
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More than 20 years 8 13.33%		10-15 years	8	13.33%
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Both 30 50%	Purpose of landline	Personal use	21	35%
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Convenience		Both	30	50%
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More the 20 Calls		11-15 Calls	9	15%
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Rs.501-Rs.1000 26		More the 20 Calls	18	30%
Rs.1001-Rs.1500 4 6.67% Rs.1501-Rs.2000 15 25% Above Rs.2000 4 6.67% Reasons Convenience 16 26.67% Status 7 11.67% Minimum Charges 16 26.67% No Net work problem 4 6.66% Enhanced Facilities 11 18.33% Others 6 10% Level of Satisfaction Satisfied 23 38.33% Highly satisfied 35 58.34%	Amount Spend	Below Rs.500	11	18.33%
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Status 7 11.67% Minimum Charges 16 26.67% No Net work problem 4 6.66% Enhanced Facilities 11 18.33% Others 6 10% Level of Satisfaction Satisfied 23 38.33% Highly satisfied 35 58.34%		Above Rs.2000	4	6.67%
Minimum Charges 16 26.67% No Net work problem 4 6.66% Enhanced Facilities 11 18.33% Others 6 10% Level of Satisfaction Satisfied 23 38.33% Highly satisfied 35 58.34%	Reasons	Convenience	16	26.67%
No Net work problem 4 6.66%		Status	7	11.67%
Enhanced Facilities 11 18.33% Others 6 10% Level of Satisfaction Satisfied 23 38.33% Highly satisfied 35 58.34%		Minimum Charges	16	26.67%
Others 6 10% Level of Satisfaction Satisfied 23 38.33% Highly satisfied 35 58.34%	İ	No Net work problem	4	6.66%
Level of Satisfaction Satisfied 23 38.33% Highly satisfied 35 58.34%		Enhanced Facilities	11	18.33%
Highly satisfied 35 58.34%		Others	6	10%
	Level of Satisfaction	Satisfied	23	38.33%
Dissatisfied 2 3.33%		Highly satisfied	35	58.34%
		Dissatisfied	2	3.33%

Suggestions

Based on the analysis and arrived findings, following suggestions are given to improvise customer satisfaction.

- Better network should be provided to customer.
- More details of the new plans should be explained to the customer.
- More services at cheaper rate should be provided to BSNL customer.
- Advertisement relating to the schemes should be given more in Television and daily news papers.
- Customer care should be quicker while attending the customer problems.
- They will provide the customer to buy the products offered by the BSNL.

 Most of the customers have expressed that they are dissatisfied over the customer grievance redressal mechanism. Hence, the BSNL has to pay more attention on the complaints made by the customer.

Conclusions

Today's, the BSNL is India's telecom business house. Still, BSNL has to do something to introduce a new scheme special offer at festival time to attract the new respondents with a price to fit the lower class citizens. It provided one rupee services through India, prepaid, postpaid, internet services and telecom services at lower cost than other private mobile. In this context, BSNL has to set up more customer care centers. BSNL ought to think differently to beat their future competitors.

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Dalit, Capitalism and Entrepreneurship: Emergence of New Class

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[Globalisation, liberalisation and the free market have opened up opportunities for Dalits. Dalit's entry in the market happens through the savings from the labour or as a partner with the other partner who is helpful for bank credit rather than from the agricultural profits or the mercantile accumulation. The broader argument of this article is that through the passage of globalisation and liberalisation, the construction of a new class occurs with the emergence of DCCI, and some Dalits become Dalit Capitalists. Dalit entrepreneurs develop the phenomenon of creating a new class combined with economic and social attribution known as 'Dalit Capitalists or Dalit Entrepreneurs.']

The growth of social consciousness and the assertion of various sub-castes among the Dalits result from specific historical development and the process of social change and Dalits' attempts to overcome their deprived and marginalised status in society by acquiring a contemporary Dalit class. In the post-independence period, the development process was widely expected to dissolve the outdated form of social organisations either through the system of planning or the market economy for competence rather than cronyism. And it was also expected to replace the custom through the contract of the state and the market.

During the 1990s, India's incorporation into the global capitalist economy opened the market and abolished the license raj quota system. Even though the public education system and the legal provisions to protect and compensate for the centuries of disrespectful treatment the government launched affirmative action policies in higher education and public sector employment. There is no doubt that globalisation, liberalisation and the free market have opened up opportunities for Dalits.

Through the passage of globalisation and liberalisation, the construction of a new Dalit class formed with the emergence of DCCI after 2002, and some Dalits become 'Dalit Capitalists'. Dalit Capitalists or entrepreneurs

develop the phenomenon of creating a new class combined with economic and social attribution known as 'Dalit Capitalists or Dalit Entrepreneurs' Therefore, affirmative actions helped Dalits to reach the highest positions in the state. Despite the emergence of the Dalit billionaires and DICCI (Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry)1, the market economy has not been treated well with Dalits.

This article explores the phenomenon of making a new Dalit class, i.e., Dalit Capitalist. The main aim is to examine the outcomes of Dalit Capitalism, and whether Dalit Capitalism can dismantle the traditional caste structures and develop a new class for Dalits that has provided the sphere for the Dalits to uplift themselves economically. Milind Kamble2, the founder of DICCI, says that now 'Capitalism versus Caste', there is a battle going on, and Dalits should look at Capitalism as a crusader against caste.

Theorizing Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system where the control over the production of goods and the allocation of financial resources is thoroughly based on the private ownership of resources and a free market. In the defence of the capitalist system, Michael Novak stressed on the aspects of freedom of choice in the market, material progress and consumer sovereignty (Novak, 1982)

Adam Smith developed the economic system based on the free market and consumer welfare as an alternative

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to the system of mercantilism. He advocated for maximizing consumer choice in both the political and economic spheres. Capitalism maximizes individual choices whereas democracy gives people equal participation in decision making which affects their lives. So, both capitalism and democracy maximize individual choices and liberty. Thus, the form of the capitalist system advocated by Adam Smith may be termed as democratic capitalism (Friedman, 1962)

Capitalism is an economic system where the production of goods takes place in the capitalist firms and most of the products are exchanged in the capitalist market forces where the working-class labour generally appears as a wage labour. Essentially the relation of both the capital and the wage labour defines the whole character of the capitalist mode of production in the market forces." (Hodgson, 1995)

Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Evolution of Dalit Capitalism

During the phase of the 1990s, a well-known sociologist Anthony Giddens presented a new and classic description of globalisation as the expansion of social networking and connections between the distant and the local people. Giddens and other scholars argue that "these territorial borders are now relativised due to the political and economic interactions at the global level and terms as Supra territoriality." (Lang, 2006).

"In an era of globalisation polities, societies and culture come closer, and due to the advancement in the field of technology and information, the phenomenon of globalisation describes the experiences of time and space, i.e., time-space compression. Globalisation increases the worldwide interdependency across the territorial borders and increases the speed with the purpose to establish the relations between the different regions of the world." (Jwala, 2009).

Shifts in the economic policy since the 1980s in India

"From the 1980s, the liberalisation policy and the deregulation reforms were implemented. During Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, India had a centrally-directed and regulated economy. Agriculture, construction sectors and transport sectors were owned by the centrally administered government, commodity prices were regulated by the centre, and India had trade barrier." (Chancel, 2017).

A modern awakening began with the utilisation of the representative provisions under colonial rule, and after the independence, they provided constitutional safeguards. Since then, Dalits have become a distinctive group with a collective identity. (Srinivas, 2016).

The 1990s economic reforms were implemented in response to the emerging challenges of the post-cold war period. The state's role was instigated to remove from its direct participation in the economy. "The role of private business and the enterprises was promoted to

expand the area of economic activities that were hitherto not open to it. "(Jodhka, 2010). The state played a strong character in the course of economic provision through the loans and rules and procedures of markets where the highlights put on to develop the entrepreneurial culture that can permit the historically marginalised community, i.e., Dalits. (Thorat, 2009).

"Regarding the impacts of economic reforms and new economic policy on the caste system, the protagonists and the optimists rely upon the rhetoric of contradiction between feudalism and the system of Capitalism. The problem of the annihilation of castes incorporates the changes in the economic structure of the society in favour of the Dalits and to have a massive cultural movement to cleanse the mind of the people regarding the notion of caste." (Teltumbde, 2001

Evolution of Dalit Capitalism and Dalit Entrepreneurs

Dalits started to demand reservations in the private sector in the present era of privatisation. On 13th January 2002, in Madhya Pradesh's, "Bhopal declaration" happened which reflected the version that there is not only a single Dalit billionaire, businessman and industrialist in India. It wanted the standard of "Equal opportunity for all" in Indian Industry like the United States Style. (Nigam, 2002). Therefore, the marginalised community, Dalit, may come out from the past problem of executing the economy's contaminated tasks.

In addition to the Bhopal Declaration, the Dalit Sahitya Academics or the Dalit Literary Academy and the Dalit Shiksha Andolan or Dalit Education Revolution are indications of the lunge for the knowledgeable capital they wish to produce a new private sector to generate intellectual vigour.

The Neo-liberal turn and Dalit Capitalism and Dalit Entrepreneurs

The increasing opportunities for economic and social mobility are made possible by the economic reforms by adopting neo-liberal policies. It has made the Dalit youth eagerly participate in a new market economy to improve their condition of deprivation (Jayal, 2014).

"Through the growth of Dalit Capitalism, a group of Dalit entrepreneurs confirmed that economic reforms gave an impetus to promote the Dalit business. Two north Indian cities, Saharanpur and Panipat, listed a tenfold increase in Dalit enterprises over the cumulative figures for the first four decades of independence." (Jodhka, 2010).

The DICCI's President recognises that the doctors running 50 hospitals in the state of UP belong to the Dalit community, despite few working as manual labourers during their school days. Still, they succeeded to be eligible as a doctor due to affirmative action. On the other hand, the Dalit intellectual and the mentor of DICCI, Chandra Bhan Prasad3, agreed that the affirmative action policies had provided the platform.

Both leaders Milind Kamble and Chandra Bhan Prasad named as the symbol of "New Dalit assertion", are openly compassionate that globalisation and liberalism walk together to develop the economy that has developed a positive attitude for the supporters of their community. Thus, 'New Dalit Assertion' constructs the new Dalit class as Dalit capitalist or Dalit entrepreneurs, their class has changed from 'job seeker' to 'job giver.'

Other Dalit intellectuals argued that not all Dalit interests need to be united between the Dalit masses and Dalit entrepreneurs. The opportunities that are flowing in the era of globalisation may well be beneficial for the few Dalit entrepreneurs while doing nothing for the Dalit masses of the latter.

The group of DICCI has adopted the objective of "be job givers, not job seekers" they are pushing the members of the Dalit community in India to develop a new class of Dalits as a businessman and the entrepreneur." (Deshpande, 2013) The entrepreneurship or the self-employment is seen as a path to come out of poverty and as an alternative to the unemployment and labour discrimination in the market." (Fairlie, 2001)

The proponent of Dalit Capitalism promises to deliver the much anticipated socio-political, cultural and economic development and emancipation of lower castes. Gopal Guru used Guy Debord's theory of spectacle to outline the Dalit millionaire's emergence as a low intense spectacle. He examines that the business of money minting was never part of Ambedkar's movement and that Dalits must stay aloof from celebrating the individual's monetary success. (Guru, 2012) Still, Dalit millionaires have some structural limitations that prevent them, millionaires, from becoming high-intensity spectacles. They have not acquired cultural and enormous material power to brand their signature all over the world.

Mobility of Dalit Entrepreneurs and their Challenges

"The inspiring stories of Dalit millionaires who turn the harsh conditions into opportunities are increasingly invoked to showcase the business entrepreneurship as the tool of social empowerment." (Kapur, 2014) "The entrepreneurship and Dalit business are not just about the lack of credit flows, but the main question is about that how the caste-based prejudices and the discrimination based on the traditional sayings of ritual purity and the pollution shapes and outlines the exchanges of goods and the services in the contemporary market forces." (Prakash, 2015).

The argument here is not about dismissing the phenomenon of Dalit Capitalism but rather about drawing attention to the social restrictions and barriers that constitute the markets. To celebrate capital as human emancipation now, it has become challenging to explain away the constraints and the inadequacies as the inequality grows in different parts of the world.

Conclusion

The anti-caste movement by organised Dalits and the social reforms was to facilitate the ambivalent role of the marginalised society. In economic terms, the anticaste struggles and movements were centred on the refusal to perform the traditional role and duties. Capitalism provides a mark to enable the Dalit where they were at the bottom of social structure, not just rise but flourish in different sectors. In 1991 liberalisation through economic reforms opened up opportunities for Dalits to enter business entrepreneurship and new spaces for Dalits in the private sector led to the rise of Dalit millionaires.

The liberal constitution of India banned caste discrimination and it reserved the seats for Dalits in education and government jobs to raise them in society. But the caste system remained in a savage form mostly in the rural areas. Although economic reforms spread the opportunities in the private sector, the abolition of the license raj system brings new space for Dalits to enter the market processes. Another class which Dalits construct after the globalisation era with the entry into the private sector i.e., Dalit entrepreneur or Dalit capitalist and Gopal Guru called them intensity spectacles.

The competitive market broke the caste rigidities to some extent but not fully nullified them and it facilitated the Dalit to come out of traditional occupations and move to new occupations. Globalisation and liberalisation are suitable paths for the emancipation of Dalit rather than repression who have faced discrimination and exclusion for a century. Chandra Bhan Prasad, the mentor of DICCI claims that neoliberal policies in India implemented since the 1990s have played a significant role to erode caste discrimination and constructed a new Dalit class in the form of Dalit capitalists and entrepreneurs.

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(Footnotes)

- Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry is working for the accomplishment of Dr Ambedkar's vision of economic empowerment through self-help and entrepreneurship.
- Milind Kamble is an Indian entrepreneur and founder of the Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI) which works for Dalit entrepreneurs.
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Performance Evaluation of Queueing Theory for Energy Consumption in Wireless Network

Dr. S. Nazreen Begum*

[Wireless networks consist of number of sensor nodes which are ready with data transceivers that enable them to communicate with each other to perform shared sensing tasks over a given area. Data collection is one of the important factors that affect data transmission and giving out in wireless sensor networks. This paper discourses this issue by resources of the paths delay analysis. Queueing theory for wireless networks are of various kinds that supply to various different needs of researchers and scientists. Since each of these have a unique set of advantages and disadvantages, it becomes necessary to understand which of these might suit a particular scenario best. Queueing theory model the connectivity time packet sending time it could be loss of the data transmission. Our proposed model use M/M/I/N type queueing network model with holding nodes for wireless network and strategy approximate iterative algorithms. Experimental consequences show that the model is reliable with the real data. Queueing model leads to high energy consumption on their network.].

Then the distance of the waiting queue reaches the maximum, the node is congested in the queueing network model. Therefore, a typical WSN is exhibited by M/M/1/N type queueing network model. The method of modeling based on the topology of nodes in WSNs and performance analysis of the data collection capacity have been proposed.

According to the topology of WNs and working characteristics, appearance, transporting and leaving relations of transmission nodes, border nodes and sink node are examined, and data flow balance reckonings are obtained. In order to assess the congestion situation in the queueing network, and get real effective arrival rates and broadcast rates in the model, holding nodes were added in the queueing network model and corresponding queueing network perfect is expanded.

In a typical high-throughput queuing theory, nodes periodically send probe to their neighbors to amount the quality of their next to links. During direction discovery, node estimations the cost of the path by linking its own measured metric of together links with the path cost accumulated on the route discovery packet. The minimum spanning path with the finest metric is then designated.

The significant measure of a sensor node is its energy supply. In fact, the excellence of a wireless network is measured by its

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coverage, and thus the energy independence of each constituent node is of utmost importance. In calculation, due to the node reduced extents and, in most cases, inaccessibility in the places they are deployed, it is important to optimize energy supply wherever possible. In fact, the nearest source of energy is the node surrounding environment. Energy reaper is the part of some nodes responsible to do the best job of collecting, conditioning, and storing energy from the surrounding energy source.

The priorities and blocking mechanisms with open-loop queueing network performance analysis, and queueing network parameters on the approximation and error estimates. Using queueing network delay evaluation, problems of analyzing modeling and path planning in various fields are successfully resolved.

However, the topology of the wireless network is very complex requiring a large number of transmission paths within the network. Thus, path delays are most computational overhead and slow down the speed. Therefore, performance evaluation using queueing network method for delay optimization is rarely mentioned in the field of wireless network.

Related Work

In the works, a number of investigation results on queuing presentation analysis for wireless sensor networks have been reported. A typical method in queuing analysis for wireless sensor networks is showing a sensor node as a finite FIFO queue using an incessant time Markov chain assuming sensor

nodes alternate between active and sleep modes. The interchange of active/sleep mode may help reduce the energy consumption of a sensor node. However, the sleep mode will cause extra delay and packet loss.

The effectiveness of cluster-based distributed sensor networks depends to a large extent on the coverage provided by the sensor deployment. A virtual force algorithm as a sensor deployment strategy to enhance the coverage after an initial random placement of sensors, for a given number of sensors, the virtual force algorithm attempts to maximize the sensor field coverage. A combination of attractive and repulsive forces is used to determine virtual motion paths and the rate of movement for the randomly-placed sensors. Once the effective sensor positions are identified, a one-time movement with energy consideration incorporated is carried out, i.e., the sensors are redeployed to these positions.

Regardless of the tests mentioned above, there must be tradeoff between energy consumption and resource operation. However, service time for each arrival packets increases as the size expands, therefore, number of packets waiting in queue in the energy consumption. The loss of some video and the packets might not extremely affect overall data in destination, so that outstanding packet can convey the compulsory message to the listener.

In the case of loss of image packet, it is problematic to rearrange whole surround in order to get innovative picture back. In this paper we presented quality of service quantity by analyzing the packets in the queue by using Queueing theory.

Proposed System

In our proposed model, we have used a multicast routing based queueing model in network. A Low Propagation Delay Multi Cast Routing based queueing theory forms a direction from source to the destination which comprises of n numbers of multisub paths during the transmitting path construction. Multisub-pathways are helpful for sub paths procedure sender to its two-hop neighbours thru a communicate node in the neighbourhood of both sender and receiver nodes. Basically this method is useful to keep data collision at receivers since they receive packets from different relay nodes.

Wireless sensors have more traffic and not secure data transmission on the network. They use three stages sleep mode, awake mode, idle mode. To find out the destination place use shortest route on network. We have proposed a minimum spanning tree algorithm in wireless sensor networks to allow each node to select its next hop with the highest successful delivery rate of the minimum energy consumption and increasing a throughput reduce the delay on network.

The queueing theory solves the troubles of customary technique in FIFO model in network. On the other hand, deploy data collection to attach the wireless nodes in such network is demanding due to the far above the ground operation cost, the multifaceted shape of the communication variety of the data collection and the important impacts of the swelling breakdown and relay loop displacement. To appointment the use problems in the queueing model network have not be addressed.

Node Energy Savings based on Queueing Model

We next evaluate the energy saved by the proposed queueing model approach. Assume the sensor node has three basic energy consumption types sensing, transmitting and receiving, and these power values (energy per unit time) are E_s , Et and Er, respectively. If we select all sensors that reported the target for querying, the total energy consumed for the event happening at time instant t can be evaluated using the following equation:

$$\begin{split} E_1(t) &= N_{rep}(t)(E_t + E_n)T_1 \\ E_2(t) &= N_nT_n \\ E &= \sum_{N_n-start}^{N_n-snd} E(t) \\ \Delta E &= E - E^* = S \sum_{t=rept}^{t_{snd}} (total\ energy_n(t) - consumed\ energ(t)) \end{split}$$

Where E1 is the energy required for queueing model reporting the detection of an object the parameters T1, denote the lengths of time involved in the transmission and reception, which are directly proportional to the sizes of data, control messages to query sensors, and the detailed sensor data transmitted to the cluster head. The parameter Ts is the time of sensing activity of sensors. The parameters E denotes the total energy in this case for target localization from tstart to tend. Similarly, for the proposed probabilistic localization approach, we have

Where

$$C = E_r T_1 + (E_t + E_r) E_{no.of\ node\ energy}$$

Since $N_n(t)$ is always less than or equal to $D_n(t)$,

So we consumed energy and rectifying the damaged node I during data transmission using queueing model in FIFO network.

The optimal queueing operation strategies are investigated in both single and two dimensional queueing networks where the nodes are dispersed also arbitrarily or according to a usual lattice. Validated by together hypothetical inference and simulations, the deployment strategy can build a reliable queueing theory system that is healthy to lump failure and communicate coil dislocation with smallest amount cost.

FIFO based MST in Queueing Theory

This algorithm is known as Low Propagation multi path routing based data collection in the network to analysis queueing model a low propagation delay minimum spanning tree a route from source to the destination which contains of n amounts of multisub paths during the routing path construction. Multi sub paths are helpful for sub paths to form sender to its two-hop neighbors through a relay node in the neighborhood of both sender and receiver nodes.

Performance Analysis

The Purpose of our reproduction to analyze the presentation of the AODV by using interlocks Networks. The repetition surroundings are shaped in NS-2, in that provides preserve for a wireless networks. NS-2 was using C++ language and it has used for an Object Oriented Tool Command Language. It came as an extension of Tool Command Language (TCL). The execution was approved by using a wireless environment of

100 wireless nodes rootless over a simulation area of 1200 meters x 1200 meters level gap in service for 10 seconds of reproduction time.

The network grounded data processing or most exclusive and data announcement level on their performance on the network. Hence, the simulation experiments do not account for the overhead produced when a multicast members leaves a group. Multiple sources create and end sending packets; each data has a steady size of 512 bytes. Each mobile node to move randomly on their network, it's more and most expectable on their networks.

Throughput Performance

The ratio of throughput concert overall network performance improve network performance and packet delivery ratio and decrease packet delay.

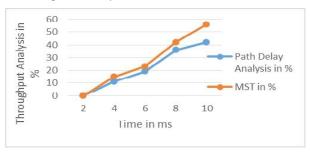


Figure 1: Performance of Throughput

Delivery Ratio Performance

The packets are delivered since source to destination on their network. It is intended by dividing the quantity of data received by ending state finished the quantity package originated from starting point on the network. PDF = (Pr/Ps)*100

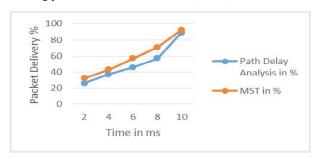


Figure 2: Performance of Delivery Ratio

Where Pr is total Data established & Ps is the total data transfer on their network.

The End-to-End Delay

They have calculated an average number of delay on the network, it includes all possible delay caused by buffering through route detection latency, queuing at the border queue, retransmission delay on medium access control, spread and move time. That time took a data packet to be crossways a queueing model network from start to ending point on the network.

$$D = (Tr - Ts)$$

Where Tr receives Time and Ts is sent Time.

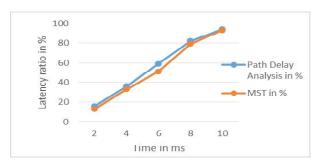


Figure 3: Performance of Delay Ratio Conclusion

The different queueing theory and network channel to minimize the energy consumption based on the FIFO, the MST algorithm is provided. The MST algorithm uses the minimum spanning tree to connect the entire wireless node with the queueing model. However, the system created by the MST algorithm is used to reduce failure node and replace the new FIFO queueing node in the network.

We have used low propagation delay network to reduce delay and reduce relay coils in the network. To improve the network performance based on this MST and LPDMR. In our future work to implement the alternative network performance and reduce delay, avoid traffic model on the network.

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Effect of Core Strength Training on Selected Physical Fitness Variables of Cricket Players

C. Saravanan* & Dr. A. Mahaboobjan**

[The purpose of the study was to investigate the effect of core strength training on selected physical fitness variables of cricket players. To achieve the purpose of this study, thirty cricket players were selected from the Department of Physical Education and Yoga, Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli, Tamil Nadu. The age group of the players ranging from 18 and 22 years was selected, with their consent. The selected subjects were randomly assigned to both the core strength training and control groups of 15 each. The selected physical fitness variables such as muscular strength, back strength, and flexibility were assessed using standard tests and procedures, before and after the training regimen. The core strength training regimen for the experimental group lasted for twelve weeks for 3 days per week and 1 session of 90 minutes in the morning session. Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used as a statistical technique to determine the significant difference, if any, existing between pretest and post-test data on selected dependent variables. The level of significance was fixed at 0.05 for all the cases. The result of this study demonstrated that core strength training had a significant impact on muscular strength, back strength, and flexibility of cricket players.]

trength is the ability to overcome resistance or act against resistance. Strength is not only a product of the muscles but also the nervous system which controls and regulates muscular contraction (Mahaboobjan A., Viswejan U., 2013). Core strength is the strength of the underlying muscles of the torso, which help determine posture. Core exercises train the muscles in your pelvis, lower back, hips and abdomen to work in harmony. This leads to better balance and stability, whether on the playing field or in daily activities. The core is the part of the human bodylocated between the pelvic floor and diaphragm, and its main job is to hold and protect your spine.

Stability of the trunk plays role in the elderly and individuals with disabilities, not only in maintaining an upright body posture, but also in helping to change positions when sitting, standing, and walking. In sports performances, core strength is also very important to improve body balance and postural control in movements such as landing and contact. Strength exercises for the abdominal muscles among student participants in experiments have been reported to increase the stability of the lumbar spine. Core training excluding the diaphragm for elderly individuals can also improve balance ability. Strength exercises for these four muscles are therefore hypothesized to help improve balance ability during sitting without support (Kang KY, 2015).

Core muscles including the transverse abdominis, multifidus, diaphragm, and pelvic floor muscles are thought to contribute stability of the spine. Reports have shown that transverse abdominis contracts first to contribute to stiffness as a feedforward function during upper limb activities and standing tasks involving sudden perturbation (Malátová R, Rokytová J, Stumbauer J, 2013). The other core muscles (i.e., multifidus, diaphragm, and pelvic floor muscles) are supposed to perform similar functions to transverse abdominis. These four core muscles contract first to increase the stability of the trunk during

extremity exercises and have been considered to help prevent injuries from sports (Willson JD, Dougherty CP, Ireland ML, et al., 2015). .

Cricket is a game played by two teams of eleven players each on a pitch with two sets of three stumps, which are called wickets. The bowler bowls the ball down the pitch to the batsman of the opposing team, who must defend the wickets in front of which he stands. The target of the game is to score as many runs as possible. Runs are scored by individual players by running on the playing strip (called pitch) between the wickets, or by hitting a ball that flies outside the boundary of the playground or which falls inside the boundary but bounces or rolls outside. When the balls go directly outside the boundary, the batsman scores six runs, and when the ball falls within the boundary but rolls outside then the batsman scores four runs. The opponent team will bowl and field and their objective is to take the wickets for each of the batsmen playing on the pitch.

The strength or weakness of the core will determine the athlete's ability to move and generate power efficiently while participating in sport. Having good core strength, stability, and efficient dynamic neuromuscular control will facilitate the opportunity for improved sports performance. To know the efficacy of core strength training and its significant contribution to one's level of fitness, it was decided to take up this study.

Methodology

To achieve the purpose of this study, thirty cricket players were selected from the Department of Physical Education and Yoga, Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli, Tamil Nadu. The age group of the players ranging from 18 and 22 years was selected, with their consent. The selected subjects were randomly assigned to both the core strength training and control groups of 15 each. The selected criterion variables were assessed using standard tests and procedures, before and after the training regimen. The instruments used for testing the dependent variables were standard and reliable as they were purchased from reputed companies. The variables and tests used are presented in table-1

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Table 1: Dependent Variables and Tests

Sl. No.	Variables	Tests / Instruments	Unit of Measurement
1.	Muscular Strength	Bent Knee Sit-Ups	Number
2.	Back Strength	Dynamometer	Kg
3.	Flexibility	Sit And Reach Test	Centimeters
4.	Mean Arterial Pressure	MAP = DP + 1/3 (SP - DP)	mmHg
5.	Vital Capacity	Wet Spirometer	ml
6.	Resting Pulse Rate	Digital Blood Pressure Monitor	Bpm

Training Protocol

The core strength training regimen for the experimental group lasted for twelve weeks 3 days per week and 1 session of 90 minutes in the morning session. The core strength training consisted of 3 sets of 6-10 repetitions on 5 exercises that trained only the core region. A percentage of each subject's onerepetition maximum for each exercise was used to determine the intensity of training. The intensity and number of repetitions performed for each exercise was progressively increased. The control group did not participate in any specialized training during the period of study.

Experimental Design and Statistical Procedure

a random group design involving thirty subjects for the training effect. Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used as a statistical technique to determine the significant difference, if any, existing between pretest and posttest data on selected dependent variables. The level of significance was fixed at 0.05.

The experimental design used for the present investigation was

The data collected during the pre and post-test period was statistically analysed by Analysis of Covariance to determine the impact of core strength training on selected physical variables are presented in table II.

Variables	Groups	Pre Test Mean	Post Test Mean	Adjusted Post Test Mean	SOV	Sum of Squars	df	Mean Square	'F' ratio
Muscular Strength	Exp. Group	30.10	38.00	38.00	В	268.64	1	268.64	150.66*
	Con. Group	29.80	33.40	30.40	W	30.31	27	1.78	
Back Strength	Exp. Group	82.40	90.30	90.30	В	236.39	1	236.39	43.05*
	Con. Group	81.20	82.00	82.00	W	93.36	27	5.49	
Flexibility	Exp. Group	32.20	42,20	42.20	В	376.92	1	376.92	39.55*
	Con. Group	34.00	35.20	35.20	W	162.00	27	9.53	

Table II: Analysis of Covariance on Muscular Strength, Back Strength, Flexibility of Experimental and Control Groups

(* Significant at 0.05 level, required table value for significance at 0.05 level of confidence for df of 1 and 27 is 4.21).

The findings of the study show that significant differences exist between core strength training and the control group on muscular strength, back strength, and flexibility, since the obtained, 'F' ratio of 150.66, 43.05 and 39.55 respectively were greater than the required table value of 4.21 for significance at 0.05 level of confidence for df of 1 and 27. Hence it is concluded that eight weeks of core strength training can produce significant changes in muscular strength, back strength and flexibility of cricket players.

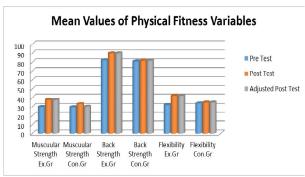


Figure 1: Mean values of Muscular Strength, Back Strength, Flexibility of Experimental and Control Groups

Discussion on Findings

The results of this study suggest that eight weeks of core strength training have a detrimental effect on selected physical fitness variables. Strength is one of the most important components of physical fitness and a vital necessity for many sports. Strength training is an exercise programme where free or stationary weights are used for the purpose of increasing muscular strength, muscular endurance, and power, through which skills can be improved (Moran & Mchlynn, 1990).

Coutts and others (2004) observed that 12 weeks of direct supervision of resistance training in young athletes results in greater training adherence and increased muscular strength, power, and running speed. Similarly, LeMura and others (2002) observed 16 weeks of various modes of resistance training and found significant improvement in upper and lower body strength. Dorgo and others (2009) found significant improvements in muscular strength and muscular endurance of the manual resistance training and weight resistance training groups.

The literature thoroughly supports the evidence that core strength training has been shown to change physical parameters. Most of the previous research confirmed the finding of the present study. It is apparent that training adaptations are very specific to the movement pattern, velocity of movement, contraction type and contraction speed (Hakkinen & Kavhanen, 1989).

It is suggested that the adaptation changes of core strength training are very dynamic and variable for each individual. For a long-lasting change, there needs to be a systematic administration of a sufficient stimulus, followed by an adaptation of the individual, and then the introduction of a new, progressively greater stimulus.

Conclusions

The result of this study demonstrated that core strength training had a significant impact on the muscular strength, back strength, and flexibility of cricket players. The results of this study highlight the physical adaptations that occur with core strength training programs. Hence it is suggested that core strength training should be considered an effective component of sports or fitness programme in addition to the previous system.

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Multiple Narratives of Women on Conflict in Kashmir (Union Territory of J&K)

Ankita Bakshi*

[Armed conflict in the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir has completed almost its thirty three years and provides different phases of separatism, violence, militancy, repression, etc., which has badly affected the lives of citizens residing there. Although conflict affects each and every section of the society but it affects women doubly due to their sex and being a part of the general society. In order to understand women's narratives on conflict in Kashmir province various questions (using questionnaire method) have been asked about their perception because they have faced and still facing militancy, oppression and violence in their day-to-day life. Literature on armed conflict is largely gender blinded and accorded scant attention on the impact of conflict on women. To fill this gap, the present paper provides insights into women's narratives about the ongoing conflict in the Kashmir province.]

onflict is a complex term and to understand its complexity each discipline from its own perspectives tries to understand it. It becomes a lop sided attempt if one emphasizes on only one aspect of the conflict such as taking into consideration only the economic aspect and left social, political, strategic, cultural and international issues related to conflict (Raghavan, 2012).

In order to understand conflict in Jammu and Kashmir Union Territory (J&K UT) one has to understand all aspects i.e. social, economic, political and religious aspects related to conflict. Hence, conflict is not a simple term and it is equally difficult to decipher it. The competing claims over Kashmir India on the one side and Pakistan on the other side are the key sources of conflict in J&K UT. Diverging responses associated with the claims from both sides have given birth to armed conflict and militancy in the state (Bose, 2003).

Literature on armed conflict is largely gender blinded, accorded scant attention on women's perspectives on conflict as conflict were associated with men only. As Urvashi Butalia in her book *Speaking Peace: Women's Voices from Kashmir, ed.*, rightly said, It is the male who is hero, whether as an army man or a militant... she does not count. Armed conflicts were seen as male dominated domains (Moser and Clark, 2001). To throw light on this, the present paper focuses upon the various narratives of women about the ongoing conflict in the Kashmir province.

Both men and women experience direct and indirect violence associated with military conflict. While men are disproportionate victims of direct violence (extra-judicial killings, illegal detention, torture, enforced disappearances), violations experienced by women occur mostly in the sphere of economic, social, sexual and cultural rights (Kazi, 2009).

Which factors are responsible for ongoing conflict in J&K UT? Is the abolition of Article-370 is appropriate step to reduce or stop conflict in the state? If the step is not appropriate then what other means should be adopted to control or stop conflict in the state? These are some questions which have been asked from 100 women with the age group of above 25 years from two districts namely Shopian and Budgam Kashmir to know

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their perceptions regarding ongoing conflict in Kashmir province. Snowball sampling method and questionnaire method have been used as a tool to collect data from the respondent.

Conflict in J&K Union Territory

Since the Independence from the British, the issue of conflict over the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir by India on the one hand and Pakistan on the other hand had started and after more than seven decades still it continues. Therefore, this is a conflict which is both intrastate as well as interstate in nature (Navlakha, 2009). Every government at the helm from time to time tried to solve the issue of conflict but no positive result had been found yet. Recently, on 5 August 2019, the Central Government took an historic decision and abolished Article - 370 and 35-A from Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and made it a Union Territory (UT) of India to solve the issue of conflict but still problem exists.

Conflict is understood as a state of opposition, disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people and forms the base of any social movement (Shakeel, 2016). It generally refers to those types of people's behaviour which reflect elements of opposition, strife and struggle for achieving mutually exclusive possession of social values such as power, property, prestige, and honour at the cost of others (Singh, 2001).

Thus, conflict is a struggle in which the aim is to gain objective and simultaneously neutralize injury or eliminate rivals (Coser, 1956). Pakistan for the last seventy years has tried to gain full control over Kashmir and create disturbance in India by using any means. In 1988, militancy was one of the means that Pakistan adopted to get control over the Kashmir in particular and India in general.

Perception of Women on Conflict in Kashmir Provision

Women are believed to be prone to exploitation and abuse ranging from sexual slavery to compulsory recruitment into armed groups during wartimes. As survivors of violent conflict, they bear the burden of reconstruction. This kind of stereotypical connotation associated with women has led to gender inequality regarding who is considered as weak and victim during a war. It is contended that men are the ones who engage in war and when they are killed, disappear, or dislocated, women are left behind with the burden of ensuring family livelihood

Perception of Kashmiri women from two districts of Kashmir has been taken to know their opinion on conflict. On the basis of data collected through the method of questionnaire of hundred women respondents depicts that there are different factors responsible for ongoing conflict but political factors are most important. Religious factors followed by regional factors are other important factors responsible for the ongoing conflict in the state.

Majority of the respondents said that abolition of Article-370 is not an appropriate step. They are of the opinion that due to this step the state loses its unique identity. Moreover, competition in the fields of education and business sectors increases, majority of the respondents replied. Even some respondents said crime rate had also increased in the state.

Majority of the respondents said Government should take certain steps in future by taking the interest of the people into consideration and not going against the interests of the local people. Peaceful means should be adopted to solve the issue of conflict in J&K, as reported by majority of the respondents on being asked what means should be adopted to solve the matter of conflict in J&K.

Things become more clear if the we analysis the above data in table form which is given below.

Table 1: Data Analysis

Questions	Responses in	Responses
1. Factor		
a) Political	69	69%
(b) Religion	22	22%
(c) Regional	09	09%
(d) Any Other		
Total	100	100%
2. Abolition of Article-370		
(a) Appropriate Step	11	11%
(b) Inappropriate Step	89	89%
Total	100	100%
3. Solution of Ongoing Conflict (a) Only Through		
Peaceful Dialogue	98	98%
(b) Other means	2	2%
Total	100	100%

Above data reveal that out of hundred women, majority of them (69%) said political factor is the main factor behind the ongoing conflict in the state followed by religion factor (22%) and regional factor (9%).

89% of the respondents said that the abolition of Article-370 was an inappropriate step taken by the Central Government. Only 11% termed it as an appropriate step. A vast majority of female respondents comprising 98 percent of the total number, said that the ongoing conflict in the state could only be resolved through peaceful dialogue whereas the remaining two percent opined that some other means should be adopted to resolve the conflict.

Conclusion

Conflict affects every section of the society and no one remains unaffected from its impact. Being a vulnerable section of the society, women have been affected from conflict doubly. So women's perspectives should be given space in all spheres so that being a vulnerable section of the society women get equal chance and not get discriminated on the basis of their sex.

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Socio-Political Consciousness among Dalits: Struggle against Begari in UP

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[The paper examines the protest by the Dalits against the continued practice of begaril after the attainment of independence, and even after the abolition of untouchability. The legislative changes were not successful in bringing about major changes in the lives of Dalits. I would argue that the agitation by the Dalits was not acknowledged as a protest by the Congress government in the U.P. The official reports informed with this perspective, posited the distinction between the "Dalits" and the "public" in their reports of Dalits agitation. The paper shows how the different Dalit caste organizations, women and scheduled caste federations create the consciousness among Dalit society and they started to protest against this system. I would suggest that what is involved here is a particular understanding of the notion of politics. The government refused to recognize that the Dalits have any rights to protest. It is as if the Dalits were not part of the "public", which was constituted by the caste-Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and so forth, but not by the Dalits.]

That is Begari? Begari or Begar was a system of forced labour practiced in the different regions of pre-Independence India where members of lower castes were compelled to perform unpaid work for the landlords or uppercaste elite people. It was practiced on a wide scale during the colonial period and it also continued even after independence. The person of the lower caste was forced to provide the service in the agricultural work, construction work, or any other domestic needs of the upper caste without any payment.

The socio-economic conditions of the members of Dalit community were not good; therefore, the upper caste people took this opportunity for begari and exploitation. We get different caste organizations and Scheduled Caste federations that create the consciousness among Dalit society and they started struggling against the exploitation of begari and demanded the proper wages in an organized manner in the post-independence years.

The instances of Protest and Response

The protests by the Dalits were against the practice of begari. They were also in support of their demand for wages. The Hindi newspaper Aaj (a popular newspaper published from Benaras) reported the clashes between the Chamars and Rajputs. The Police Abstract Intelligence reports mentioned that the Chamars had refused to perform begari and were demanding wages. The Dalits also wanted the Congress government to initiate measures that would improve "their standard of living", through better wages, housing and educational facilities for the Dalits, and reservation in the government posts. ³

According to Police Intelligence reports the protest was organized by different Dalit castes, which constituted almost sixty percent of the total Scheduled Castes population in Uttar Pradesh. They provided the bulk of agricultural labour to the caste-Hindus and zamindars. In the zamindari areas of Awadh and Saryanpur Plain they constituted more than 90% of work force, in Eastern U.P. 96% of the workforce and in Western U.P. about 70% of agricultural labour.

The Chamars protested against their supposed duty to remove dead bodies, either human or animal in a village. They also refused to perform this task for the police, i.e. to remove a corpse. We can delineate two aspects of the Chamar protest, one against the caste-Hindus and the zamindar, the other against the police and state. In both cases, the opponent was the caste-Hindus or the Congress Government.

Their protest began in Jalaun district in early July 1948 and soon the Chamars from the adjoining districts began to participate in the protest. The agitation, it seems, was limited to twelve districts of the province, comprising mainly the Western U.P. and Central U.P. The twelve districts consisted of Bijnor, Bullandshahar, Jalaun, Jaunpur, Jhansi, Etawah, Basti, Harodi, Hamirpur, Kanpur, Barielly and Sultanpur.

The agitation continued until the middle of November, after which nothing was reported on these protests. There are no official reports available after 1948, especially the PAI reports. The paucity of sources is further compounded by absence of reports on Dalit in newspapers.

In the second kind of protests, the Dalits refused "to perform menial duties including removal of corpses connected with crimes.⁷ The protest from Dalits created a major obstacle to the functioning of the police. In areas like Jainun, Kanpur and Hamirpur the police constables were compelled to perform the task of removing corpses.⁸

Like the caste-Hindus, the police in many areas did not hesitate to apply coercive measures to enforce the Dalits to work. In police station Bhutta of Bareilly, "the police forced four Chamars to take a dead body to the mortuary". The Dalits were compelled to provide assistance to the police because they were Chamars, and not because they were appointed by the State.

Thus, the so-called menial duties undertaken for the police was begari imposed on Dalits for which they were also not paid. But this time the Dalits were determined to assert their rights. In Bareilly a group of 100 Chamars, organized a demonstration against the police, and approached the DM to initiate action against the culprits 10. Similarly the Dalits were ready to fight the zamindars, in case they retaliated with violent methods.

In areas like Bijnor, Bulandshahr, Jaunpur, Etawah, Jalaun, the official reports mention such instances. ¹¹ In Bijnor "the villagers retaliated by not permitting Dalits to graze cattle in their lands,

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while in Bulandshahr the zamindars have begun to curtail the privileges enjoyed by the Dalits. 12

"In Bijnor and Bulandshahr districts, Chamars are refusing to remove the dead bodies of animals which is 'naturally causing inconvenience'" noted police report. This kind of protest took place in Bijnor, Bulandshahr, Sultanpur Etawah, Jhansi, Kanpur, Hardoi, Bareilly, Jaunpur, Hardoi, Jalaun, Basti and Hamirpur. 13 The official perception of these protests was similar to that of the caste-Hindus. In official perception the Dalits were violating the accepted norm, their 'duty' to the caste-Hindus, by refusing to 'perform their duties'

Role of Dalit Women in struggle against Begari

There was an important role of the Dalits women in strengthening the protest. The involvement of Dalit women in the Dalit agitation was noted in the Anglo-Indian press and in official reports. The Dalit women's work in households of the caste-Hindus was part of begari imposed on the Dalit community. Unfortunately we have only meager evidence regarding Dalit women's protest against begari. A report in the Pioneer noted that "the Dalit women of Rampurva village (districts Gorakhpur) engaged in the work of cutting umbilical cords are demanding Rs.5 per case. ¹⁴

The fact that this was not a local instance but part of a wider protest is underlined in a report by the Hindi daily Aaj. The *Aaj* reported that in many parts of the Province, the chamar women were demanding Rs.5 for cutting the umbilical cord of the new born babies. ¹⁵ The *Peoples Age* also reported about a similar event from the districts of Jaunpur, where the Dalit women refused to act as 'dais' or midwives. ¹⁶

The scope of begari for Dalit women was not limited to the domestic sphere but also extended to the fields of zamindars. The Dalit women also worked as labourers in the fields, especially in the reaping and harvesting season. It is then not surprising that the Dalit women were also involved in the protest against begari. The Intelligence report from Bijnor noted that "the Dalits have stopped their women folk from doing menial work such as removing dung and grinding" in the households of Hindu zamindars.¹⁷

Again, in Kealowara, district Azamgarh, a Dalit woman Jhunia went to the police station and filed a complaint against the zamindars of the village. In the complaint, Jhunia accused zamindars of forcibly demanding begari from the Dalit men and when they demanded wages they were brutally beaten by zamindars and their henchmen. ¹⁸ This, report in the *Pioneer* and a question in the Legislative Assembly are the only instances when Dalit women were reported as visible participants in the agitation.

The Voice of Dalit Representatives in the Struggle against Begari

Dalit Representatives actively raised the voices of Dalits against Begari on every platform. Dalit representatives in the Legislative Assembly like Gajadhar Prasad and Jagpal Singh, were actively involved in anti-begari agitation, and repeatedly brought such complaints to the attention of the Government in the first quarter of 1946. The Proceedings of the UP Legislative Assembly tell us of similar complaints that were lodged by Chamars from the districts of Barabanki, Banda, and Sitapur, where a protracted protest against begari had been launched.¹⁹

In *begari* related violence some 111 Chamars were killed in UP between 1 April and 30 September 1946.²⁰ We can safely assume that because these deaths were not the outcome of Hindu-Muslim discord the Congress Government can afford to ignore such deaths. The Dalits were outside the debate of secularism and still are

However, the Congress Government refused to release any figures or the official action taken against those who caused these Chamars deaths claiming that it would be a waste of resources. Such was the tone and temper of the movement that it forced the Congress Government in UP to set up an enquiry on 5 June 1947 to investigate the various kinds of *begari* and its abuses.²¹

On the basis of this inquiry we can say that at least fifteen districts reported more than four cases where Chamars had lodged complaints against *begari*. Most of these districts were located in the Awadh and eastern region of UP and included Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Fatehpur, Banda, Rae Bareli, Sitapur, Knapur, Barabanki, Partagargh, Kheri, Etawah, and Etah.²²

Once again in using these categories 'public' and 'duty', the officials underlined the distinction they made between the public domain and the Dalits. In this sense the Dalits were kept outside the public domain. There is a particular understanding about the position of the Dalits in Indian society, which informs the official perception, despite its claim to universal principles of modernity. The question that we need to pose is could we expect the state to make a meaningful intervention for the benefits of Dalits?

Role of Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF)

The Uttar Pradesh Scheduled Caste Federation (UPSCF) was an important political orgaisation which contributed to the struggle meaningfully and strongly put the issue of abolition of Begari system. The SCF was very much involved in these protests, and this is underlined by the fact that when protests began in Kanpur and Jalaun where the SCF had a substantial following among the Dalits ²³

The agenda was already outlined in the fifth annual conference of UPSCF at Lucknow. In one of the resolutions at the Conference, the SCF demanded abolition of begari and criticized tyranny of zamindars.²⁴ In the Conference, Tialk Chand Kureel had threatened to launch a Satyagraha if their demands were not accepted.²⁵

The criticism against begari and against the Congress government was also repeated at the second conference of Rohilkhand Division of SCF, held on June 16 and 17, at Bareilly. ²⁶ The agitation was particularly strong in the Rohilkhand, Allahabad and Jhansi divisions of U.P. Beside the prominent role of T.C. Kureel, other leaders of the UPSCF – Asharfi Lal Passi of Allahabad, Mangal Singh Jatav of Bareilly, Prem Singh of Aligarh, Swami Chhamanand of Etawah and B.P. Kureel of Lucknow are all good examples. ²⁷

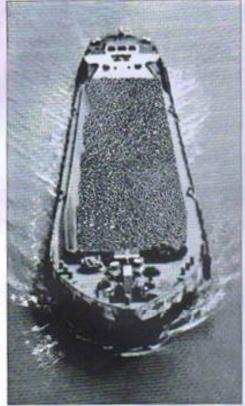
The SCF protested against the Congress government for its failure to stop the practice of begari by the caste-Hindus and police officials. But in the perception of the Congress Government and the caste-Hindus this was not a protest but the negligence of their duties. Even after the 'independence' of India, the struggle for the independence of Dalits had a long road ahead. Even Jagjivan Ram acknowledged that the freedom of the India does not mean freedom for the Dalits. In his speech at the State Harijan Conference at Gwalior he said that "freedom from British rule.... Fold slavery of the British and the Hindus".²⁸

Conclusion

We may conclude that the rural Dalit labourers, men and women, protested in many parts, of U.P. against begari. Attempts by the zamindars, police officials to forcibly demand begari were met with firm opposition from the Dalits. When the zamindars used coercive powers, Dalit labourers were ready to fight with them and even lodge complaints. The U.P. Government's enquiry into the practice of begari concluded that the rural davit labourers had become politically conscious and assertive about their rights, from which there could be no turning-back for the Dalits.

To an extent these enquiries and reform efforts by the Government represented the victory of Dalit politics against the power of caste-Hindus. The SCF successfully raised the question of caste-inequality and offered constitutional and political solutions for Dalits.

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